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## Selections.

### THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.

[The following is the bill as it passed both Houses of Congress, "the objections of the President to the contrary notwithstanding." Vote in the Senate 33 to 15; House 122 to 41:]

*Be it enacted, etc.*, That all persons born in the United States, and not subject to any foreign power, excluding Indians not taxed, are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States; and such citizens of every race and color, without regard to any previous condition of slavery or involuntary service, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall have the same right in every State and Territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, to be sued, be parties and give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property; and to full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of person and property as is enjoyed by white citizens; and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, and penalties, and to none other, any law, statute, ordinance, regulation, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

SEC. 2. And that any person who, under color of any law, statute, ordinance, regulation or custom, shall subject or cause to be subjected, any inhabitant of any State or Territory to the deprivation of any right secured or protected by this act, or to punishmnet, pains, and penalties on account of such person having at any time been held in a condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except for the punishment of crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, or by reason of his color or race, than is prescribed for the punishment of white persons, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and on conviction shall be punished by a fine not exceeding $1,000 or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both, in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 3. That the District Courts of the United States, within their respective Districts, shall have, exclusively of the Courts of the several States, cognizance of all crimes and offenses committed against the provisions of this act, and, also, concurrently with the Circuit Courts of the United States, of all causes, civil and criminal, affecting persons who are denied, or cannot enforce in the Courts of judicial tribunal of the State or locality where they may be, any of the rights secured to them by the first section of this act; and if any suit or prosecution, civil or criminal, has been or shall be commenced in any State Court against any such person, for any cause whatsoever, civil or military, or any other person, and arrest or imprisonment, trespasses or wrong done or committed by virtue or under color of authority derived from this act, or the act establishing a Bureau for the relief of Freedmen and Refugees, and all acts amendatory thereof, or for refusing to do any act upon the ground that it would be inconsistent with this act, such defendant shall have the right to remove such cause for trial to the proper District or Circuit Court in the manner prescribed by the act relating to *Habeas Corpus*, and regulating judicial proceedings in certain cases, approved March 3, 1863, and all acts amendatory thereto. The jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters hereby conferred on the District and Circuit Courts of the United States, shall be exercised and enforced in conformity with the laws of the United States, so far as such laws are suitable to carry the same into effect; but in all cases where such laws are not adapted to the object, or are deficient in the provisions necessary to furnish suitable remedies and punish offenses against the law, the common law, as modified and changed by the Constitution and statutes of the State wherein the Court having jurisdiction of the cause, civil or criminal, is held, so far as the same is not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States, shall be extended, and govern said Courts in the trial and disposition of such cause; and, if of a criminal nature, in the infliction of punishment on the party found guilty.

SEC. 4. That the District-Attorneys, Marshals and Deputy Marshals of the United States, the Commissioners approved by the Circuit and Territorial Courts of the United States, with power of arresting, imprisoning or bailing offenders against the laws of the United States, the officers and the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and every other officer who may be especially empowered by the President of the United States, shall be and they are hereby specially authorized and required, at the expense of the United States, to institute proceedings against all and every person who shall violate the provisions of this act, and cause him or them to be arrested and imprisoned, or bailed, as the case may be, for trial before such of the United States or Territorial Courts as by this act has cognizance of the offence; and with a view to affording reasonable protection to all persons in their Constitutional rights of equity before the law, without distinction of race or color, or previous condition of slavery, or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, and the prompt discharge of the duties of this act, it shall be the duty of the Circuit Courts of the United States, and the Superior Courts of the Territories of the United States, from time to time, to increase the number of Commissioners, so as to afford a speedy and convenient means for the arrest and examination of persons charged with a violation of this act.

SEC. 5. That said Commissioners shall have concurrent jurisdiction with the Judges of the Circuit and District Courts of the United States, and the Judges of the Superior Courts of the Territories, severally and collectively, in term, time and vacation, upon satisfactory proof being made, to issue warrants and precepts for arresting and bringing before them all offenders against the provisions of this act, and, on examination, to discharge, admit to bail, or commit them for trial, as the facts may warrant.

SEC. 6 And such Commissioners are hereby authorized and required to exercise and discharge all the powers and duties conferred on them by this act, and the same duties with regard to the offenses created by this act as they are authorized by law to exercise with regard to other offenses against the laws of the United States. That it shall be the duty of the Marshals and Deputy-Marshals to obey and execute all warrants and precepts issued under the provisions of this act, when to them directed, and should any Marshal or Deputy-Marshal refuse to receive such warrant or other process when tendered, or to use all proper means diligently to execute the same, and he shall, on conviction thereof, be fined in the sum of one thousand dollars, to the use of the person upon whom the accused is alleged to have committed the offense; and the better to enable the Commissioners to execute their duties faithfully and efficiently, in conformity with the Constitution of the United States and the requirements of this act, they are hereby authorized and empowered, within their counties respectively, to appoint, in writing, under their hands, any one or more suitable persons from time to time to execute all such warrants and other process as may be issued by them in the lawful performance of their respective duties, and the persons so appointed to execute any warrant or process as aforesaid shall have authority to summon and call to their aid the bystanders, or *posse comitatus* of the proper county, or such portion of the land or naval forces of the United States or of the militia as may be necessary to the performance of the duty with which they are charged, and to insure a faithful observance of the clause of the Constitution which prohibits Slavery in conformity with the provisions of this act; and said warrants shall run and be executed by said officers anywhere in the State or Territory within which they are issued.

SEC. 7. That any person who shall knowingly and wrongfully obstruct, hinder, or prevent any officer or other person charged with the execution of any warrant or process issued under the provisions of this act, or any person or persons lawfully assisting him or them from arresting any person for whose apprehension such warrant or process may have been issued, or shall rescue or attempt to rescue such person from the custody of the officer, or person or persons, or those lawfully assisting as aforesaid when so arrested, pursuant to the authority herein given and declared, or shall aid, abet, or assist any person so arrested as aforesaid, directly or indirectly, to escape from the custody of the officer or other persons legally authorized as aforesaid, or shall harbor or conceal any person for whom a warrant or process shall have been issued as aforesaid, so as to prevent his discovery and arrest after notice or knowledge of the fact that a warrant has been issued for the apprehnsion of such person, shall, for either of said offences, be subject to a fine not exceding $,1000 and imprisonment not exceeding six months, by indictment before the District Court of the United States for the district in which said offence may have been committed, or before the proper court of criminal jurisdiction, if committed within any one of the organized Territories of the United States.

SEC. 8. That the District-Attorneys, the Marshals, their Deputies and the Clerks of the said District and Territorial Courts, shall be paid for their services the like fees as may be allowed to them for similar services inother cases; and in all cases where the proceedings are before a Commissioner he shall be entitled to a fee of $10 in full for his services in each case, inclusive of all services incident to such arrest and examination. The person or persons authorized to execute the process to be issued by such Commissioners for the arrest of offenders against the provisions of this act, shall be entitled to a fee of $5 for each person he or they may arrest and take before any such Commissioner as aforesaid, with such other fees as may be deemed reasonable by such Commissioner for such other additional services as may be necessarily performed by him or them—such as attending at the examination, keeping the prisoner in custody, and providing with food and lodgings during his detention and until the final determination of such Commissioner, and in general for performing such other duties as may be required in the premises, such fees to be made up in conformity with the fees usually charged by the officers of the Court of Justice, within the proper district or county near as practicable, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States, on the certificate of the district within which the arrest is made, and to be recoverable from the defendant as part of the judgment in case of conviction.

SEC. 9. That whenever the President of the United States shall have reason to believe that offences have been or are likely to be committed against the provisions of this act within any judicial district, it shall be lawful for him, in his discretion, to direct the Judge, Marshal, and District-Attorney of such district to attend at such place within the district, and for such time as he may designate, for the purpose of the more speedy arrest and trial of persons charged with a violation of this act; and it shall be the duty of every judge or other officer, when any such requisition shall be received by him, to attend at the place and for the time therein designated.

SEC. 10. That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, or such persons as he may empower for that purpose, to employ such part of the land or naval forces of the United States, or of the militia, as shall be necessary to prevent the violation and enforce the due execution of this act.

SEC. 11. That upon all questions of law, arising in any cause under the provisions of this act, a final appeal may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States.

### JOHN BRIGHT ON THE BRITISH REFORM BILL.

[At a meeting held at Birmingham on March 26, the following letter was read from Mr. Bright:]

ROCHDALE, March 25, 1866.

I FEEL sorry that I cannot be at your meeting tomorrow night to witness and to help the expression of the sentiments of Birmingham upon the question which is now exciting so much interest throughout the country. I cannot write as I could speak, but I must write a few lines to you.

The franchise bill now before Parliament is a perfectly honest bill. It will, if it become law, give votes more extensively to the middle class, both in counties and boroughs, and it will overthrow the principle of working-class exclusion, which was established by the Reform Act of 1832.

It will admit to the franchise many of the workingmen in all important and populous boroughs that they, as a class, will no longer feel themselves intentionally excluded and insulted by the law.

In the counties it will enfranchise 200,000 men, and it may be expected in some counties to make the representation less that of the class of landlords and more that of the great body of the occupiers of houses and land within the county.

It will enfranchise in London and all the great cities a considerable number of young men and of artisans who live in lodgings or in parts of houses, and it will thus extend the franchise to many not included in the suffrage granted by the Reform Act.

I say the bill is an honest bill, and if it is the least the government could offer, it may be that it is the greatest which the government could carry through Parliament.

Parliament is never hearty for Reform or for any good measure. It hated the Reform Bill of 1831 and 1832. It hated the bill which repealed the Corn Law in 1846. It does not like the franchise bill now upon its table. It is, to a large extent, the offspring of landlord power in the counties, and of tumult and corruption in the boroughs, and it would be strange if such a Parliament were in favor of freedom and of an honest representation of the people. But nothwithstanding such a Parliament this bill will pass if Birmingham and other towns will do their duty.

There is opposed to it the Tory party, of whose blindness and folly we have abundant proof in all its history. We have no reason now to expect from it a wider course, and we have a small section of men who do not accept the name of Tory, but zealously do its work.

These combine to form a conspiracy on which all the hopes of Mr. Disraeli and the Opposition are based. I think a more dirty conspiracy has not been seen in the House of Commons during many generations. It is directed against this bill, and not less against Lord Russell, by whom the liberal and popular policy of the government has been determined.

What should be done, and what must be done under these circumstances? You know what your fathers did 34 years ago, and you know the result. The men who in every speech they utter insult the workingmen, describing them as a multitude given up to ignorance and vice, will be the first to yield when the popular will is loudly and resolutely expressed. If Parliament street, from Charing Cross to the venerable Abbey, were filled with men seeking a Reform bill, as it was two years ago with men come to do honor to an illustrious Italian, these slanderers of their countrymen would learn to be civil, if they did not learn to love freedom.

This bill appeals to the middle and working classes alike. It is a measure of enfranchisement to both of them, and they should heartily unite in an effort to make it a law. That which the Tories and the "dirty conspiracy" oppose, cannot but deserve the support of every liberal man in the kingdom.

If the population of the Birmingham district would set apart a day, not for "humiliation," but for a firm assertion of their rights, in great meetings, or in one vast gathering, they might sustain this franchise bill and beat down as by one blow the power that threatens to bolt the door of Parliament against the people.

I hope we shall see in all the towns of Great Britain during the coming fortnight a great support of the government and the bill. If the vote of want of confidence is carried against the government, there will be a change of ministers or a dissolution of Parliament. If the towns do their duty the government will be safe, because the bill will be safe, and the suffrage once established on a more rational basis, the country can then turn its attention to the arrangement and distribution of seats, which is just as needful as a wider suffrage to give us a fair representation of the nation.

Great meetings and great petitions will be not only useful, but effectual. I am very truly yours,

JOHN BRIGHT.

### THE PROSPECT OF THE SOUTH.

[The extracts below are from the "OCCASIONAL," Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press*:]

IT is believed that Alexander H. Stephens, Vice-President of the most treacherous and bloody revolt against free government in human history, has come to the conclusion that he cannot ignore three-fourths of the controlling majority of Congress, who so faithfully represent twenty millions of people. Men of Mr. Stephens' school have done more mischief, by pretending to yield to the fate of war, than can be cured in a generation of time. They come here possessed with the idea that they have committed no offence whatever. They argue the questions of the hour with the sublime assurance of men who had achieved some grand moral triumph, or had escaped with their lives after trying to break down a remorseless despotism. It is ridiculous to see how the old sense of superiority deludes these people. No sadder instance of it could be found than the manner in which they infatuate Andrew Johnson.

* * * * * *

I regret to say that the very last intelligence from the South is of the most gloomy character. The seed sown by the President has produced a terrible harvest, and, what is worse, it must be gathered by those who have done their utmost to maintain the Government. I say this with sorrow. Such is the present feeling in the South, and among those in the North who support Andrew Johnson's policy, that every evidence of Southern disloyalty is denounced as a falsehood, or characterized as an attempt to create ill-feeling between the sections. And yet a stern duty demands that the suffering people, white and black, should have a voice to speak their wrongs and should be protected by the Government. I speak by the book when I say that *at this very moment the condition of things in the South is more threatening than at any one period since the defeat of Lee's army.* Let me begin with Mr. Stephens' own State, which he sets up as a model, and the proceedings of the last Legislature, which he carries with him, as a proof of the fitness of the people of Georgia to live under a Republican Government. Before that Legislature adjourned a bill was passed amending the election law, so as to make residence in the State *two years* instead of, as before, six months, as a condition to the exercise of the elective franchise. This, of course, was intended to prevent emigration from the free States and to retain power in the hands of the traitors. Following this was the result of the election to which your Savannah correspondent referred in his letter of April 3d, where not only the Union candidates were overwhelmingly defeated by open and active rebels, but the Government and loyal men openly insulted. For the benefit of Mr. Stephens and his sympathizers here and elsewhere, I repeat your correspondent's words to show how the test oath is observed by these "reconstructed" Georgians:

"One man, with a ballot in his hands, declared in loud tones, '*Yes, by G—d, I have always been a rebel, and always will be, and intend to vote the full rebel ticket.*' Another said boldly, '*I have taken the oath of allegiance, but the Government of the United States has forfeited its contract with me, and by G—d, I will forfeit my obligations to it.*' However, the election is over, and we presume none of our readers regret that the excitement, disputes, and bickerings are ended for the present. All that now remains to be finished prior to the assembling of the convention is the decision whether the candidates elected can take their seats."

But this is not all, nor the worst of it. I learn that, by an order coming from the President of the United States, the brave editor of the Savannah (Georgia) *National Republican*, John E. Hayes, Esq., has been directed to return the types and materials of that paper to Sims, its original rebel owner! This Sims was one of the most venomous of the rebel editors, and is charged with having assisted in dragging through the streets of Savannah a disgraceful effigy of the lamented Lincoln. When Gen. Sherman entered Savannah, Mr. Hayes, a loyal man, who lost a father and a brother in the service of his country, and had himself fought for the flag, was instructed to take charge of the office of the *Republican*, and from that day to this, he has conducted it with matchless ability and industry, improving it in every respect, by purchasing with his own means types and presses from the North. He was rapidly creating the strongest Union feeling, speaking of treason and of traitors as they deserve, when the order to which I refer, came from Washington and was presented under the most humiliating circumstances. An ex-general of the rebel army, a man who assisted to drag the American flag through the streets of Savannah, acting for Sims or in his company, demanded the return of the whole of the materials of the office from Mr. Hayes, including that which he had purchased with his own money. The order in question refers the dispute between the two parties, Sims and Hayes, "to the jurisdiction of the civil courts for adjustment." The effect of this Andrew Johnson decree is to ruin one of the bravest Union editors in the South, unless he can be induced to recede from it, or unless Mr. Hayes can obtain redress under the civil rights bill, which is now, thank God! a law of the land. Let me call your attention to another instance yet more striking. The *National Intelligencer* of this morning contains the following:

"The Governor of the State of South Carolina and the late Provisional Governor, Mr. Perry, have represented to the President that the Superior Course of that State will not administer justice under the State laws, even against white men who were criminals, because of the interference of the military authority under Gen. Sickles. It seems that by the criminal code of the State, white men are liable for petit larceny, horse-thieving, etc., to the penalty of thirty-nine stripes laid on the bare back. There is no penitentiary in the State, and the Legislature adjourned without creating that institution, which is so necessary for all the purposes of civilization. A case came to the State court sitting in Charleston, of aggravated crimes, and, upon conviction, the criminal, who was a white man, and to the manor born, was sentenced to receive nine-and-thirty lashes. The ceremony was about to be performed, when Maj.-Gen. Sickles forbade it in an official order.

"As the matter now stands, criminals of the white and native race cannot be punished in South Carolina according to her own laws, and, as the Legislature is not in session, no other code can be provided.

"The President, in this emergency, is urged to abrogate Gen. Sickles' order. What the President will do in the case is yet unknown. The military order will perhaps be enforced, and the State left to devise some mode of punishment better adapted to the ideas of the age."

This confession appears in the organ of Andrew Johnson, and sustains several suggestive points:

First. That the present Governor of the State of South Carolina, and the late Provisional Governor, the "loyal" Mr. Perry, complain to the President that the courts in that State cannot administer justice, because of the interference of Gen. Sickles—that justice being permission under the criminal code of the State, "to inflict thirty-nine stripes" on the bare back of white men for petit larceny!

Second. That the Legislature adjourned leaving these infamous laws on its statute books, so they might be carried out afterward.

Third. That Gen. Sickles' interference was to save a white man from receiving this savage punishment of thirty-nine lashes on the bare back.

Fourth. As gravely stated in the *Intelligencer*, that "as the matter now stands, criminals of the white and native race (how delicate!) cannot be punished in South Carolina, according to her own laws."

The fifth point is that the President is called upon to abrogate Gen. Sickles' order, and the *Intelligencer* does not know what he will do in the case.

No savage tribe could surpass these cruel and heartless practices. And yet "My policy" is blind to such barbarities.

In the *Chronicle* of this morning is the statement of a white witness, the relative of a distinguished member of Congress from Pennsylvania, who states that he was present and saw a negro receive "thirty-nine lashes" on the bare back, for stealing a pair of shoes, at Raleigh, N. C., on the 2d of April. This respectable gentleman says: "It was the most horrible thing I ever saw. The negro was made to take off all his clothes. The sheriff then took a cowhide and gave him 'thirty-nine lashes,' bringing the blood every time, and using up two cowhides. I saw another whipped to-day," etc. The offence was petit larceny. You published the order of the brave Gen. Canby in this morning's *Press*, refusing to commission the newly-elected Mayor of New Orleans, who received an overwhelming majority against the Union man, because of the most open, cruel and continuous disloyalty, the evidences of which are succinctly given by Gen. Canby. I have in my possession at this moment a letter from one of the oldest Union men of Alabama, for many years a leading Douglas Democrat in that section, who states that if the Radicals in Congress are defeated, himself and his compatriots will be forced to leave their homes. He avers that all was going on well until Andrew Johnson committed the influence and patronage of the General Government to the Copperheads and traitors. Then all was lost or endangered.

There is not a loyal member of Congress, and hardly a merchant in Philadelphia or New York, in correspondence with the Southern people, that cannot confirm these instances.

What transpires in Maryland can be seen by a casual perusal of any number of the Baltimore *American*, the faithful organ of the people of the State. That most scandalous exhibition, the fair for the relief and maintenance of the baffled murderers of our country, the recent rebel soldiers, is but a part of a system which rejoices in burning school-houses for the education of colored children, in assaults upon Union soldiers, and in organizations headed by Montgomery Blair for the repeal of all laws preventing returned rebels from voting.

The condition of things in Virginia is typified by the election of the rebel Mayor of Richmond a few days ago, and by the evidence of patriots like Gov. Peirpoint, Judge Underwood and John M. Botts, against the President's policy and against the admission of rebel claimants to seats in the Senate and House of Representatives from that State.

Texas has so hopelesly reverted to the cut-throats of treason, that Gens. Sheridan and Custer have given such testimony before the Committee on Reconstruction as to have even startled Andrew Johnson and William H. Seward; and this may account for the exception of Texas from the recent Pope's bull against the comet—the peace proclamation.

It is in the face of these awful demonstrations, that the action of the House of Representatives completing the civil-rights bill, may be hailed as the salvation of the Union. Had that bill failed, and Andrew Johnson been encouraged to continue a policy producing such results, we should soon have been in the midst of a carnival of woe.

### THE METHODIST HOUSEHOLD OF FAITH.

[The Methodist Church seems "a house divided against itself." Whether it can stand on its present underpinning, will be seen. Reconstruction evidently gets on badly. The North is gracious up to the fullest demand of charity, and beyond; but the South is still sullen and rebellious, as appears from the following reported proceedings of one day in the recent session at Brooklyn of the New York East Methodist Conference:]

REV. WM. C. HOYT, Chairman of the Committee on the State of the Country, said that yesterday a report had been adopted thanking the Senate for passing the Civil Rights Bill over the President's veto. He now moved to amend that report by adding to "the Senate" and "the House of Representatives," the House having yesterday passed the bill by a considerable majority over the required two-thirds. He also moved that the Secretary of the Conference be requested to forward a copy of the report to the Speaker of the House of Representatives in addition to the one to be sent to the President of the Senate.

The action taken yesterday was then reconsidered, and the amendment adopted without debate.

Rev. Dr. Whedon, from the Committee to whom was referred the whole subject of the messages which have passed between this Conference and the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in session at New Orleans, read the following report, which was made the special order of the day at ten o'clock:

The Committee on our relations with the Church South respectfully report:

On Thursday, the 5th of April, 1866, this Conference telegraphed an invitation to the Southern General Conference to join us in a concert of prayer for unity of heart in our nation and for the harmony in our general Methodism. On Sunday the response arrived, and prayer was accordingly offered in such of our churches as received the announcement. On Monday resolutions were offered in Conference proposing that a similar concert of prayer should be held by the entire ministry and laity of both Methodisms by which was indicated the length to which this Conference was inclined to go provided it was sustained by the proper response from the South.

On examining the response received, however, we find by the most obvious interpretation that the Southern General Conference, to our great regret, limits the extension of the proposed prayer to *religious* harmony alone; thus tacitly declining any prayer with us for our national unity of heart. We suppose that most of us are willing to unite in any sincere prayer for good, as far as it goes; but we doubt whether this Conference feels a very deep interest in elaborately establishing a *concert of prayer* with sister churches who decline to pray for our national peace and concord. The net result of the whole is that we stand justified as having sought a religious unity upon the common grounds of church and country; that we have ascertained what is the difference between our two Methodisms, and that we know in what mainly consists the obstacle to our churchly unity.

Your Committee, nevertheless, would recommend that we cherish great forbearance and consideration for the wounded feelings of even Christian men in what they consider a conquered and humiliated condition. Tender dealing and generous advances which, in the weaker party might be felt degrading, may in the victor be magnanimity. Your committee, therefore, recommend to our elders, pastors and people the cultivation of generous thought and forbearing language in regard to Southern Methodism. We conclude with offering the following resolution:

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to our ministry and membership, both in private and in our public congregation, to offer frequent and special prayer for the spiritual prosperity of our brethren in the Methodist Episcopal Church South, and for their attainment of such a state of heart and mind as that they can so harmonize with us as that outspoken loyalty, impartial justice to the oppressed, and equal rights for all our fellow-men may become constituent parts of their religion.

A brief but animated debate followed, and Dr. Curry considered that the report had been conceived in an arrogant spirit. If it were adopted, it would be a taunt flung in the face of a defeated and humiliated people. He should vote against the adoption of the report.

Rev. Dr. Crooks also opposed its adoption, because if advances could not be made to the South without ifs or buts, it would be better to make no advances at all.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Inskip, the whole subject was laid on the table, amid demonstrations of applause from every part of the house.

### AFRICAN LIFE.

[From Dr. Livingstone's last volume of African explorations, entitled a "Narrative of an Expedition to the Zambesi," we make the following interesting extracts:]

#### THE FRIGHTFUL WHITE MAN.

THERE must be something in the appearance of white men frightfully repulsive to the unsophisticated natives of Africa; for, on entering villages previously unvisited by Europeans, if we met a child coming quietly and unsuspectingly toward us, the moment he raised his eyes and saw the men in "bags" he would take to his heels in an agony of terror, such as we might feel if we met a live Egyptian mummy at the door of the British Museum. Alarmed by the child's wild outories, the mother rushes out of her hut, but darts back again at the first glimpse of the same fearful apparition. Dogs turn tail, and scour off in dismay; and hens, abandoning their chickens, by screaming to the tops of the houses. The so lately peaceful village becomes a scene of confusion and hubbub until calmed by the laughing assurance of our men that white people do not eat black folks: a joke having oftentimes greater influence in Africa than solemn assertions. Some of our young swells, on entering an African village, might experience a collapse of self-inflation at the sight of all the pretty girls fleeing from them as from hideous cannibals, or by witnessing, as we have done, the conversion of themselves into public hobgoblins, the mammas holding naughty children away from them, and saying, "Be good, or I shall call the white man to bite you."

### THE POLICY.

THE worst evil of the past year has been our not knowing who were our friends, and who were our enemies. The best result of this Winter's discussion has been the discovering where the line runs between the two camps. No intelligent observer of events needs to doubt that to-day the headquarters of the rebellion are in the White House at Washington. Andrew Johnson is the leader of the present Southern effort to regain by political management what the South lost in the battle-field. He is therefore to be watched and opposed as the most efficient servant of the still unchanged and rebellious South. No fair words—no specious promises—are to lull again to sleep this tireless and indispensable vigilance. Any journal or man that tries to persuade us to trust him, must be branded as treason's ally or tool.

In Congress, as representing the National sentiment and purpose, is now our hope. While that stands we have *political machinery* to work with. Should that succumb to the Administration, we are thrown back upon mere public discussion, and compelled to wait till other elections have replaced such treacherous leaders. While holding office and representing their party, members of Congress are the Nation's political voice and teachers, whether in session or at home. Meanwhile we are to remember that the North is already so far instructed and convinced, that had the Administration stood by us, the whole perfect fruit of this national victory might have been saved; and the nation remodelled, with absolute justice for its basis. As it is, we have the result perilled, if not lost, by the treachery of the Administration—by Mr. Johnson planning and straining every nerve, using all his power, and usurping more, to reconstruct the South as nearly as possible, just as she was before the war.

In such circumstances our effort should be to *avoid any settlement.* We should rejoice to recognize that the epoch is not ended, and that we have not yet reached dry, solid land. Some men are in haste to compromise in order to end this transition state. From Mr. Fessenden, of Maine, bred in the superficial and timid school of the Whig party, nothing else could have been expected. No child of such a school could understand this era, much less be fit to lead in it. Mr. Wilson of Massachusetts, has studied for twenty years the history of slavery, and slavery compromises under this Government; and his last speech shows that his twenty years' study has taught him exactly nothing.

No compromise has ever been made, even in our dullest and weakest times, which has not hindered truth, postponed justice, and weakened freedom. Our fathers in 1789, counted the slave as three-fifths of a man, affecting to believe—perhaps believing—that the selfish wish of the South to count the other two-fifths would hasten emancipation. On the contrary, it led the South to intrigue for new territory to increase its relative weight; but it never gave rise to one, even the slightest effort, to secure more representative strength by freeing the negro. Meanwhile the compromise deadened the nation's conscience, strengthened slavery, and almost wrecked the Government.

Just the same has been the history of all our compromises, made even in ordinary political times. Much more is it madness now in this formative hour of the nation's life—when, if ever and more than ever, it can be taught and ripened, lifted up and on—to shorten and surrender this our great opportunity, by a cowardly, distrustful, and ignorant haste to compromise.

Our true policy is this. Let Congress plainly announce its belief, that no State lately in rebellion, is fit to be re-admitted to Congress. Let it lay down the principle that no one shall ever be admitted except it establishes universal or at least impartial suffrage; and then let Congress adjourn. Every day it continues in session jeopards this great cause. It may be bought, bullied, or deceived. All tends that way while it is in session, exposed to administrative influence. Once adjourned, let the lines be distinctly drawn, and go to work to meet 1868 in earnest; the interval between now and the next elections, State, National and Presidential, is none too long for the work. The treason of President Johnson and the impossibility of impeaching him, leave no hope of any earlier settlement. It is just as well, and much safer to acknowledge this. To adjourn and go to the people on this issue is saving time. In this way, spite of the President, the whole fruit of the war may yet be saved. With the lines distinctly drawn; the fight above-board and acknowledged—the issue fairly presented, and every Congressman stumping his own State, the nation may yet be founded and built up on impartial and absolute justice. Our New England air will save some of our Senators at least from the compromise malaria of Pennsylvania Avenue.

Any other course—drifting about in a storm of Constitutional Amendments, pilot blinded, or drugged, and rudder unshipped—allows timid and heedless Senators, to put us bound hand and foot into the hands of the enemy, under pretence of being *practical* statesmen. Any other course runs the risk of giving us another ten years of just such dislocated, discordant, and perilous national life as we have passed through since 1856. Adjourn Congress then. Let every member turn himself into witness, and drill master, and let our bugle call be, *No State admitted at present, and none ever admitted which has the word "white," or the recognition of race in its Statute Books.—Wendell Phillips, in the Boston Radical.*

### NEW ENGLISH REFORM BILL.

From the New York Times.

MR. GLADSTONE has at length come forward with his great measure, which is to determine the fate of the Ministry, and whose success will form an era in English political history. We have only the outlines given us by telegraph, but they show clearly how sweeping and broad is the reform proposed. Country voters who formerly were admitted to suffrage only when paying $250 occupancy, are now enlarged to those paying $70; while in boroughs, those paying an annual rent of $35 for a house, and in towns those paying $50 per annum for apartments or portions of a house, are qualified.

By this great measure 400,000 voters are added to the 1,200,000 or more of England and Scotland; that is, at a stroke the number of voters is increased *one-third.* The basis of suffrage is widened to include all the professional classes before excluded, the better class of mechanics, probably all the shopkeepers, and a considerable portion of the laborers. Such a qualification in New York would include almost every male member of the community, except vagabonds, servants and strangers. If the features of the reform are correctly reported, it will strike the American mind as a most generous and comprehensive measure, certainly widening the suffrage quite as far as wisdom would justify. If it pass, it will gradually change the whole character of Parliament and of English political life. Never before, probably, in British history, has this body so clearly shown itself a representative assembly of a class as in the present session. The laying the loss of a country gentleman's cattle as a tax on the merchants of Liverpool and London, the manufacturers of Manchester, and the day-laborers of the kingdom, was something which no legislative body, except a Parliament of squires or cattle-owners, would ever have had the hardihood to propose, or the power to carry out. The aristocracy betray themselves most, just before their fall. And in speaking of their approaching fall, we do not mean to utter any of the cheap predictions which always are being made in democracies of the ruin of aristocracies. We expect no crash, or French Revolution, or *Jacquerie* outbreaks, or the founding of an English Republic. We mean that with this measure as law, the British Commonwealth makes one of those grand steps, which, like the signing of the Charter, or the Revolution of the Seventeenth century, or the passage of the last Reform Bill, cannot be retaken, but measures a definite though slow progress. England now proposes to admit the lower, middle and higher working classes into her Government. She checks possible revolution, attaches the laboring and artisan population to the upper classes, makes labor contented and hopeful, and capital more secure, and insures a safer and happier future for the nation, by taking a course which is in harmony with all the aspirations of the citizen, by giving suffrage to the laborers. Henceforth, unless the distribution of borroughs be very unjust, the liberal, democratic, progressive party, headed by Mr. Bright and his friends, will have a prodigious increase of power. Many a squire, and Tory, and landholder, will have to give place in Parliament to a manufacturer or merchant, or some new and self-made man, a Liberal and Democrat. Four hundred thousand fresh voters, well distributed, would hold almost the balance of power in future elections. The aristocrat, if he would lead, must fall in with democratic impulses. The ancient, slow, retrogressive "Conservative" party must give way for a fresher, more aggressive and reformatory party. Already we hear of Earl Derby's friends preparing for a severe struggle over the Poor Bill. Their last hope of power and influence lies in defeating it. This step is the beginning of an *Americanizing* process in England.

### CONGRESS.

ON Wednesday of last week, Mr. Wilson, of Mass., introduced a resolution to prohibit the sale of spirituous liquors in the Capitol building.

Mr. McDougall made a few remarks on the subject, which he concluded by saying that he was in favor of wine, whiskey and war.

Mr. Wilson said that during the last few years the employees of the Capitol had been taxed to keep members of Congress in whiskey. Whiskey had been kept in committee rooms and other parts of the Capitol building for the accommodation of Congressmen.

Mr. McDougall demanded the yeas and nays on the adoption of the resolution.

Mr. Grimes said that the resolution ought to go to the Committee on Public Buildings.

Mr. Clark said that he did not know how the matter was now, but a year or two ago little boys employed as pages were sent home drunk. There should be something done to prevent the disgraceful scenes which had been witnessed about the Capitol of late.

Mr. Conness made some remarks on the evils of intemperance in legislative bodies.

Mr. McDougall said that he did not know but what it would be well for the sober Senator from California (Conness) to indulge himself in a little generous wine. He did not know but what it would be better for the Senator from New Hampshire (Clark) to do so also, and he was sure that it would have a kindly influence on the Senator from Massachusetts (Wilson) to do the same thing.

[A Washington correspondent adds a valuable word of information to this effect:]

Just at the close of the last session of Congress, a resolution of a similar character was passed in the Senate; that resolution, however, was intended to abolish what was known as the "*Hole in the Wall,*" a drinking room in the Senate wing of the Capitol where certain Senators, something less than half-a-dozen in number, were accustomed to go and "smile" so frequently that they became unfit for business, and often came into the Senate chamber disgustingly intoxicated. The object of the resolution passed to-day is to remove the immediate cause of exhibitions of a mortifying character which are occasionally witnessed in the Capitol building at the present session of Congress.

The resolution was adopted by yeas 33, nays 2, Messrs. Davis and McDougall voting in the negative.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—On Thursday the House, on motion of Mr. Wentworth, proceeded to the business on the Speaker's table, and took up the concurrent resolutions passed by the Senate yesterday, prohibiting the sale of spirituous and other liquors in the Capitol building and grounds.

Mr. Stevens inquired, with an affectation of gravity, whether this was such a resolution as would require the signature of the President? (Laughter.)

Mr. Wentworth replied that it was not, and he called for a reading of the joint rule of the two Houses, directing that no spirituous liquors shall be offered or exhibited within the Capitol or public lands adjacent thereto. That rule, he said, was adopted in 1837, and had been rigidly enforced by the presiding officer of the House all the time. (Laughter.) He had frequently been in the Senate and wondered that the presiding officer of that body had not enforced the rule. It seemed that it would be better if that body had the presiding officer and some of the members of this body. (Laughter.) He moved to amend the concurrent resolution by making it apply also to all the public buildings and grounds in the City of Washington.

Mr. Schenck said he noticed that the term "exhibited" was used in the rule, and wished to know in what sense it was employed.

Mr. Stevens suggested that it meant the exhibition of members with liquor in them. (Laughter.)

Mr. Wentworth said he so understood it.

Mr. Randall (Penn.) said that action on the part of the House was entirely unnecessary, as th Speaker permitted no violation of the rule, and had routed out all those "Holes in the Wall," and the House had subsequently approved his action in that respect. He thought, therefore, that the resolution had better be returned to the Senate, where, perhaps, there was a necessity for its adoption.

Mr. Washburne (Ill.) suggested that it should be amended, so as to make it a joint, instead of a concurrent resolution.

Mr. Stevens remarked that he knew what the gentleman from Illinois was about. He wanted to kill the measure, by making it require the signature of the President.

The Speaker stated that it could not be so amended.

Mr. Chandler suggested that it should not be made to apply to all the public buildings, for spirituous liquors were much used in the Smithsonian Institute for the preservation of animals; beside, it was known as a specific for the bite of the Copperhead, which seemed to have so much terror for some people. (Laughter.) Charges had been made against members, not only of intemperance in the use of liquors, but of intemperance from lust; and he thought the principle of the resolution should be carried out, so as to have a physician's inquiry as to the habits of members in public buildings. He thought it unfair to use public prejudice against liquor for the purpose of keeping down general excitement and good fellowship, which he knew the gentleman from Illinois never intended.

Mr. Thayer (Pa.) remarked that during his service in the House he had seen no indications of any necessity for the adoption of the concurrent resolution. He had read the debate, which took place in the Senate yesterday, and was led to believe from some of the sentiments there expressed, that the passage of the resolution might be necessary to preserve the decorum, dignity and self-possession which should characterize a body so venerated as that. He had observed, for example, that one member of that distinguished body had concluded a long oration in defence of drunkenness, with this sentiment: "I believe in woman, wine, whiskey and war." (Laughter.) He did not think that either of these articles should be thrown unnecessarily in the way of a gentleman holding such sentiments; and, therefore, he hoped the concurrent resolution would pass.

After some further discussion, Mr. Wentworth's amendment was agreed to, and on concur

"death comes like a thief in the night;" and how wise is the injunction: "Be ye also ready."

Mr. Poland said that his late colleague was born in Madison County, Vermont, on the 19th of November, 1802. He had not been able to learn anything in relation to his early life, but he inferred that he was a self-made man. He graduated at college in 1826. Some time later in life, as is usual with young men where the means of education are provided by others, after his graduation, he spent some time in teaching. After his admission to the bar, he commenced practicing in the town of Rutland, Vermont, which continued to be his place of residence up to the time of his death. He was elected to the Vermont House of Representatives in 1833, 1836, 1837 and 1838, and again in 1847. During the last three of these years he was speaker of the House. He was a member of the Vermont State Convention in 1836. He was prosecuting attorney for Rutland County from 1836 to 1842. In 1842 he was elected to the lower House of Congress, and reelected in 1844, and then declined a further election. In 1850, he was elected to the Senate of the United States, reelected in 1856, and again in 1862. At the time of his death he was the oldest member in continuous session in this body.

Mr. Brown of Missouri said: When it was signified that a public day would be set apart for appropriate commemoration in honor of the lately deceased Senator from Vermont, I had designed preparing some extended tribute to attest my warm regard for his virtues, and my great appreciation for his talents. An indisposition, however, that has prostrated me almost to the present moment, will prevent my doing as I would have wished. Still I am not willing to let this occasion pass without any memorial word from my lips. Long years ago, sir, I learned to admire steadfast devotion to free principles. Amid the thick conflict of impending revolution manifested in the public life of Senator Foot, there was a moral force, an undemonstrative heroism in his quiet methods of persistence, impressive far beyond any pronounced mannerism; but it was only when I came to know him personally, in the relations of private intercourse, that I realized the force and beauty of his full-orbed manhood. The reciprocal action of thought and feeling so often dissociated by the wear of political avocation, was with him a perfect accord. Among the first who extended to me the hand of welcome upon my entrance into this body, he emphasized that welcome by a cordial manner, a refined courtesy, an unselfish guidance, and from that hour until the hour of his departure, I can truly say that I relied upon his friendship with a confidence as absolute as though it had been the growth of years. It seemed as though the animation of his noble nature shone out radiant from his person; that a countenance in which was blended boldness and sweetness gave a true index of the spirit within. And such as he seemed I ever found him to be—a man free from guile, pure in patriotism, clear of faith, upright, punctual, deliberate and wise, with the wisdom which comes of observation, which develops in action rather than argument, and which is severe because it is ever characterable of a large type of intellect. Capable of most moving speech, graceful beyond most in elocution, he was seldom heard in the debates of this Chamber; and yet it will be said of him that few, if any, better fulfilled the proper duties of a Senator, or did more thoroughly the work assigned him either by constituents or compeers. Often chosen to preside here, eminently worthy of such dignity, possessed of a voice rich in melody, quick of apprehension amid diverse questionings, rapid in judgment, yet modest in affirmation, he became at last the oracle of the Senate, to whom all referred in disputed matters of parliamentary ruling. Observant, scrupulously observant of the forms and ceremonies that usage has grown like mosses around the procedure of this, the most august deliberative body in the world, he was yet even more deferential to duty than to form or ceremony. Indeed, I think if he had one dominant element that ruled all else in his evenly-balanced mind, it was a rigid, unswerving sense of duty, that would suffer no consideration to set aside its claim; a sense of duty which, in the prime of a vigorous physical development, he, by too assiduous devotion, sacrificed his life. But why do I say sacrificed his life? Has he not rather gone to that eternal life beyond those "beautiful gates," which shone upon his fading vision with an earthly splendor, in the everlasting tabernacles of life and love, to dwell forever with his God?

### *AMNESTY.*

Mr. Alexander H. Stephens, who held quite as firmly to the Southern doctrine of State Sovereignty as Jefferson Davis, was released from Fort Warren during the last Autumn, and was lately elected Senator in Congress by the Georgia Legislature. On the 22d of February he made a speech accepting the office and exhorting his neighbors to patient acquiescence in the results of the war. It was unquestionably wise to release him, to suffer him to live at home, and to give good advice to the Georgia Legislature. But surely it is a whimsical injustice to deprive his late associate executive officer of "the Confederacy" of the same opportunities. Why should not Jefferson Davis be allowed to acquiesce and to urge acquiescence? His offence was no greater, if more conspicuous, than that of Stephens; and treason, if they were guilty of it, can not be made "odious" by imprisoning the one and countenancing the other.

Mr. Raphael Semmes, also, who commanded the *Alabama*, and who made war upon the United States after his surrender, has been unconditionally released by the President of the United States. Mr. Semmes was very successful in his raids by sea upon the ships of loyal merchants. He must have destroyed property to the amount of many millions of dollars. Mr. C. C. Clay, on the other hand, was very unsuccessful. His raids by land were generally abortive, although planned upon the most comprehensive scale. We do not complain, under the circumstances, so far as they are known, that Mr. Semmes goes free; but why is Mr. Clay kept in jail?

We presume that these facts foretell a general amnesty. To hold Davis and Clay while Stephens and Semmes are released is unjustifiable. To undertake to try Davis is folly. It would be the trial of the Government. Does any loyal man wish to submit the validity of the war to the verdict of twelve chance men in Richmond? If Davis should be convicted of treason, nothing is settled. If he should be acquitted, the Government becomes ridiculous and the war is condemned. No trial can effect the public judgment of his course. Whatever the result, loyal men would retain their opinion and disloyal men theirs. If convicted, he would not be hung, for if there were any danger of the execution of such a sentence the most loyal men in the land would be the most earnest intercessors for his pardon. No constitutional government was ever strengthened by hanging its enemies after a war in which it was victorious, and no blood shed upon the scaffold for political offences has ever yet stained the purity of our national garments.

But while the conspicuous individual leaders in the great rebellion, like Davis, Stephens, Lee, Semmes, Clay, and others, instead of being pursued with rigor, are suffered, and wisely suffered, to go with no other penalty than the feeling with which the authors of so much misery will always be regarded by patriotic men, it is all the more important that every reasonable step should be taken to destroy the conditions which so fatally favored their conspiracy.—*Harper's Weekly.*

### *GEN. BUTLER BEFORE THE PENNSYLVANIA LEGISLATURE.*

On Wednesday of last week, Gen. Butler, by invitation, delivered an address before the Legislature of Pennsylvania. The following is said to embody the substance of his remarks:

"That we might at least rejoice over the cessation of armed hostilities, but had great cause for sorrow in reviewing the political events of the present hour, which convinced us we had not yet gained all that for which we had fought. When the rebel forces surrendered and their great leader was captured, the position of affairs at the South was such that our impressions of loyalty would have been retained.

"If the President and Congress had then punished Davis, who deserted his seat in the Senate, and Lee, who deserted his flag, and then, without shedding more blood, had ordered those who had left the army and Congress, and those who served in the rebel Congress, to leave the country in sixty days, and forfeit their property; and that those who had taken an active part in the rebellion should not have political power for at least as long a period as an unnaturalized foreigner, then peace, quietness and loyalty would have reigned in every Southern State.

"The question now was simply whether these Southern men, who deserted as once, shall be admitted to Congress without any guarantee that they will not leave us again. This is best illustrated by an ordinary partnership. A number of men associate themselves together; a minority desert, but cannot take the property of the concern, nor bind, nor destroy the partnership.

"After a while this minority desire to return. Can they or ought they to be allowed to do so? If States can go out whenever they please, why cannot they come back whenever they please? But the truth is they never did go out. Only some of the members of Congress, with the sanction of their communities, drew their salaries, left their seats and went South. These same communities cannot expect to send other members to take the place of those who absconded without the assent of Congress.

"The Supreme Court of the United States had decided that the war was a public and civil war, and that those on the opposing soil were public enemies. Has there been anything to change these Southerners from this condition of public enemies? We captured them entire—bodies, property, and Constitutional and every other right, except that of being hanged. The terms of Grant and Sherman gave no political rights to those who had opposed us. Society in the rebellious States was disorganized. How shall it be reorganized? Simply by extending justice to all, and by acknowledging that every man, whether white or black, has the right to be equal with every other man.

"On this principle the Union party must stand if it expects success in this world, or smiles in the next. But it was said, why not extend this same principle of equality to Pennsylvania and the Northern States? The answer was, that the rights of Pennsylvania had not been captured, and they had not been in rebellion. The Southerners were entitled only to what we chose to give them, and beggars proverbially should not be choosers.

"It would be but human nature if the Southern members were admitted to Congress for them to repudiate the debt incurred in whipping them, and if a sufficient number were admitted to combine with Northern Democrats, the majority thus created would be prejudicial to the interests of the country. General Butler dwelt at length upon this point, and alluded to the possibility of this majority of disunionists, in the future actually forming a new Congress. The remedy against this was to sustain the present loyal men in Congress in their present positions.

"In regard to the President, he would cheerfully welcome his return back to the principles of those who elected him, and would be glad to see him redeem his promise of making traitors odious, although the only way he had as yet suggested of doing this was by admitting them to Congress. In regard to Geary, Gen. Butler spoke of him as the best of soldiers and most reliable of statesmen."

Mr. Ruddiman moved the return of the thanks of the House to Gen. Butler, which was agreed to, 60 yeas to 30 nays—a strict party vote.


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 21, 1866.


## Important Change.

On and after the first of May, the office of the Anti-Slavery Standard will be at 39 Nassau st. and 58 Liberty st., at the corner of those streets; one entrance being opposite the Post Office, the other opposite the office of the *Evening Post*, and up three flights of stairs. The rooms are airy and pleasant; and, though a little farther down town than Beekman st. the locality is still central, and every way desirable.

## ANNUAL MEETING.

The Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the City of New York, at the Church of the Puritans, on Union Square, on Tuesday, May 8th, at 10 o'clock. In the evening, there will be another public meeting at 7½ o'clock. The names of speakers for these meetings will be duly announced.

On Wednesday morning at ten o'clock, the Society and its friends will hold a session for business, in the lecture room of the same church.

The rights of the Negro are to day in more fearful peril than at any period since the first fire on Sumter. We appeal to the friends of freedom to come together and see what may be and should be done to strengthen the hands and hearts of those who are fighting his battle.

In behalf of the Executive Committee.

Wendell Phillips, Pres.

C. K. Whipple, A. M. Powell, } Secretaries.

### *THE CONFLICT—FOR POWER OR FOR PRINCIPLE?*

In Baron Macaulay's "Lays of Ancient Rome" occurs the following:

"Then spake the Consul Aulus;
He spake a bitter jest:"

"Once the jays sent a message
Unto the eagle's nest:
"'Now yield thou up thine eyrie
Unto the carrion kite,
Or come forth valiantly and face
The jays in deadly fight.'
Forth looked in wrath the eagle;
And carrion kite and jay
Soon as they saw his beak and claw,
Fled screaming far away."

The opening of the present Congress, last December, was marked with a degree of daring towards the South and its reconstruction, which compared favorably with the boldest challenges or bravest charges of the Northern troops during the recent war. Doubt, if not more, was already entertained of the President's loyalty, but even that did not terrify. Congress had its own plan and policy, and all was to go down that should oppose it. The doctrine of a "*white man's government*" was at once pronounced "as atrocious as the infamous sentiment that damned Chief-Justice Taney to everlasting fame, and" (added the fervid orator) "*I fear, also, to everlasting fire!*"

For some inscrutable reason, legislation, or reconstruction, in the lower House tended early, and almost wholly, to the indirect, tedious, and, probably in this instance, impossible method of amendments to the Constitution. But in the Senate, Mr. Sumner proposed a more excellent way. On the 5th of February, he introduced the following preamble and resolution:

Whereas, It is provided that the Constitution of the United States shall guarantee to every State in the Union a republican form of government; and

Whereas, By reason of the failure of certain States to maintain governments which Congress can recognize, it has become the duty of the United States, standing in the place of guarantees where the principal has made a lapse, to secure to such States, according to the requirement of the guarantee, governments republican in form; and

Whereas, further, It is provided, in a recent constitutional amendment, that Congress may enforce the prohibition of slavery by appropriate legislation, and it is important to this end that all relics of slavery should be removed, including all distinction of rights on account of color;

Now, therefore, to carry out the granting of a republican form of government, and to enforce the prohibition of slavery, be it

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives, etc., That in all States lately declared to be in rebellion, there shall be no oligarchy, aristocracy, caste or monopoly invested with peculiar privileges and powers, and there shall be no denial of rights, civil or political, on account of color or race; *but all persons shall be equal before the law, whether in the court-room or at the ballot-box; and this statute, made in pursuance of the Constitution*, shall be the supreme law of the land, anything in the Constitution or laws of any such State to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mr. Sumner supported his measure in a speech of four hours' length, which was universally declared to be the greatest effort of his life. Washington correspondence declared:

"Diplomats, two Cabinet Ministers, and a much larger number of Congressmen than yesterday were on the floor, while all the galleries and approaches were densely packed with attentive listeners. As the argument of the speaker culminated, he grew grandly eloquent, and his elaborate plea, which might rather be denominated an essay than a speech, for negro enfranchisement, unquestionably made a profound impression upon every intelligent listener. At its conclusion, the floor and galleries broke forth in applause."

For a time, Mr. Sumner led the Senate and Mr. Stevens the House of Representatives, and the national heart throbbed with high hopes and great expectations. And, in spite of the President and his Southern advisers, the idea of restoration on the basis of a "white man's government" was pretty much abandoned—at the North, at least, if not at the South and "at both ends of the Avenue." And good men and devout women thanked God for Congress, in an hour of so much peril, and especially that Mr. Stevens and Mr. Sumner were the acknowledged chieftains of that last citadel of liberty.

Early, however, in the third month of the session, the Reconstruction Committee of Fifteen, Mr. Stevens at the head of it, broke out with the amendment eruption. The following was proposed and called an *amendment* to the Constitution! a granite underpinning for "a white man's government, rather," whatever the poor parchment was before:

"Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed, provided, *whenever the elective franchise shall be denied or abridged in any State on account of race or color*, all persons therein of such race or color shall be excluded from the basis of representation."

Whose souls did such a proposition "damn to everlasting fame, if not to everlasting fire?"

On the twelfth of March the same infection reached the Senate. Even Mr. Sumner's vaccination proved insufficient to save him. And with Doolittle, Wilson, Grimes and the rest, he came with his amendment as follows:

"Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States, which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by taking the whole number of persons and excluding Indians not taxed, provided that whenever male citizens of the United States over the age of 21 years shall be excluded from the elective franchise in any State, except for participation in rebellion, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number thus excluded bears to the whole number of male citizens of the United States over the age of 21 years in such State."

The Constitution, unamended, does not deprive any person of right of suffrage on account of color, or even sex. Mr. Sumner's amendment makes it *directly masculine of gender*, and *indirectly, white of complexion*. And it certainly removes suffrage farther than ever, if possible, from two classes. No such principle, law or logic pervaded Mr. Sumner's speech in February. "*A republican form of government*" had other meaning when the walls of the Senate Chamber and the hearts of his entranced audience palpitated together at his sublime inspirations! when his own heart and lips seemed touched with a live coal from the very altar of God!

But to this has the nation come. What it portends none can tell. For a time, the people trusted their President, hoping against hope. A Boston merchant had sounded him and reported him trustworthy; even submitting his manifesto for Presidential approval before he gave it to the country. That document the President might well have *vetoed*, for his own credit and the nation's safety. But he did not. He reserved that power for far other purposes.

The President failing, all eyes turned towards Congress. The colored population had proved loyal in the war, and have since surprised and delighted their friends by their intelligence and general good conduct. And to punish them, by deliberately abandoning them to their former oppressors, and rewarding the disloyal, the cruel, the tyrannical with restoration to all rights, privileges, prerogatives they ever enjoyed, and even changing the Constitution to cover and confirm so appalling a transaction, would shock the sensibilities, would wake the moral indignation of mankind, and kindle again over us the just judgments of heaven. No bill of Civil Rights can atone for injustice and ingratitude like that. And since the memorable presidential fulmination of the twenty-second of February and the late election in Connecticut, the House of Representatives has been giving more and more evidence that the question of colored suffrage has passed out of its thought. And to surrender that whole question to the States, the rebel States, States to-day boldly avowing themselves in heart and hope still rebellious, is as really the effect of Senator Sumner's proposed amendment, as of any one yet offered. And that determined zeal of purpose never to restore the States to the Union but on the basis of at least *impartial* suffrage, irrespective of color or race, with which the session opened, has disappeared, apparently forever. And Mr. Sumner no longer leads the Senate at the Capital, nor his party over the country. The other day an important measure of his moving, received but eight votes.

The Slave Power (for it is that still), acting together North and South, has thrown the Republican party into a position of the simplest self-defence; and to save itself is now its great solicitude. A great general once said, "the business of a battle is victory, but to-day I fought for life." So now fights the Republican party. One year ago to-day was its golden hour. Over the dead body of their murdered chief they could have marched to victory and covered themselves with immortal honors. God had permitted him to die, that the nation might be saved. Since the sun hid his face from Mount Calvary, the world had not beheld such a spectacle. Had the party in power been worthy, had the nation been capable of salvation, the dying visions of Mr. Lincoln would have been the New Jerusalem beyond, and its ante-type in a nation, a country, a continent redeemed from its direst curse, this side his tomb. But the foul spirit survived him, and lives yet;—lives, let us hope, only for a little hour. Its insolence, its arrogance, its audacity and assurance were never greater than to-day. Vice-President Stephens, Maj.-Gen. Lee and troops of rebels of high and low degree, tread the streets of Washington, invade the sanctuaries of the Capitol, creep into private closets of Presidential conference, as much at home as ever. As though they were all to that manor born.

Any party is ruined when it ceases to be aggressive. Such is the very nature and condition of American politics. A party in merely self-support and defence, is a party defeated. It is salt which has lost its savor. It is a petrifaction, it only for the Antiquarian Museum, to which it is soon brought. The capital invested, the stock in trade, so to speak, of the party now nominally in power, is opposition to slavery, and the remains of slavery. At first it was opposition to the *extension* of slavery. That it compromised away, in and before the first inauguration of President Lincoln. Now, to save itself alive, it is compromising again; forgetful that he who would save his life thus, shall lose it surely. At the opening of Congress, colored suffrage in the District of Columbia was the conservative demand. The Radicals went further. The Sumners, the Stevenses (and the majority they seemed) demanded *universal* citizenship, full equality, as the one only condition of reconstruction. But where is that demand to-day? Suffrage, even in the District of Columbia, where the jurisdiction of Congress is absolute, has long since passed from view. The contest with the South to-day is worthy the battle of the jays in the fable. Were amendments to the Constitution desirable, or possible, they are not *really* what is sought. The primary object is to restore the Union and preserve the party in power. The rights of the negro, the rights of woman, are to be put in greater peril than ever to achieve that object. And while that party is in power, all concession and compromise must be in the direction of conservatism, of rebellion, of the South and of slavery. And compromise and concession must be as constant as the exigencies of party security shall demand. In Mr. Lincoln's inauguration, guarantees were tendered to slavery, unknown, unheard of before. Had they been accepted, slavery would to-day have been omnipotent and omnipresent over all our land and sea, and as eternal as human decree and depravity could make it.

Were the Democrats in power, we could not possibly be worse. We might be better. Their investment is only in slavery and sympathy with the South. And compromise and concession on their part would, of necessity, be in the direction of freedom. To save themselves, they have often gone far in that direction. And concession and compromise would doubtless be as needful to retain them in power, as they are to-day for Republican self-defence. Just as the old Whig party accepted the Seminole and Mexican wars, the annexation of Texas, the vast extension of slavery, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 (that "bill of abominations," as one of them named it), and other humiliations, equally infamous and destructive to liberty, so the Democrats, in self-defence, would be compelled to submit to and even enact reversions of all that policy. And we may yet wring out of their reluctant hand, as concession and compromise, the very boon we seek for to-day in vain at the hands of the party in power. It has been so before. Indeed, has it not ever been so? Let none despair, therefore, though the enemy be again seen rushing in like a flood; for the ways of God are not the ways of men.

### *CARLYLE AT EDINBURGH.*

Mr. Carlyle was installed as Lord Rector of Edinburgh University on the first Monday of this month, and delivered on that occasion a very remarkable address to the students. His election to the position is a significant thing in itself, because such honors have heretofore been reserved for men eminent in other things than literature. We take pleasure in noting the change. With Carlyle's political opinions we have not the smallest sympathy, but that does not make us the less ready to concede his great merits in other respects, or to rejoice in this recognition by a great university of his lofty position. After deducting all his errors and mistakes, he still remains the greatest writer of this generation; and if his influence, past and present, on the mind of England and America is to be estimated, there is no one who can presume to challenge a place beside him. He has not founded a school, but his impress is to be traced on every work if—we except the domain of science—that has won fame in England or America during the last twenty years. It is right that Edinburgh, which he entered as a student fifty-six years ago, should call back her great pupil, to offer him the highest honor she has to bestow.

They who have heard much of the rugged traits in Carlyle's character will read with surprise the opening passages of his address, which are full of tenderness and genuine love for the young men about him. Throwing off his robe, he came forward amid a storm of cheers, and said:

"Gentlemen: I have accepted the office you have elected me to, and have now the duty to return thanks for the great honor done me. Your enthusiasm toward me, I admit, is very beautiful in itself, however undeserved it may be in regard to the object of it. It is a feeling honorable to all men, and one well known to myself when I was in a position analagous to your own. I can only hope that it may endure to the end—that noble desire to honor those whom you may think worthy of honor; and that you will come to be more and more select and discriminate in the choice of the object of it, for I can well understand that you will modify your opinions of me and many things else as you go on. (Laughter and cheers.) There are now 56 years gone last November since I first entered your city, a boy of not quite 14—56 years ago—to attend classes here, and gain knowledge of all kinds, I know not what—with feelings of wonder and awe-struck expectation; and now, after a long, long course, this is what we have come to. (Cheers.) There is something touching and tragic, and yet at the same time beautiful, to see the third generation, as it were, of my dear old native land, rising up and saying, 'Well, you are not altogether an unworthy laborer in the vineyard; you have toiled through a great variety of fortunes, and have had many judges.' As the old proverb says, 'He that builds by the wayside has many masters.' We must expect a variety of judges; but the voice of young Scotland, through you, is really of some value to me, and I return you many thanks for it, though I cannot describe my emotions to you, and, perhaps, they will be much more conceivable if expressed in silence. (Cheers.) When this office was first proposed to me, some of you know that I was not very ambitious to accept it at first. I was taught to believe that there were certain more or less important duties which would lie in my power. This, I confess, was my chief motive in going into it—at least, in reconciling the objections I felt to such things; for if I can do anything to honor you and my dear old *Alma Mater*, why should I not do so?" (Loud cheers.)

Much of the long address which follows—or rather talk, for Mr. Carlyle spoke without notes, and as if, says a correspondent, he had been by his own fireside—is devoted to some practical advice on the conduct of studies and the conduct of life:

"Advices, I believe, to young men—as to all men—are very seldom much valued. There is a great deal of advising, and very little faithful performing—and talk that does not end in any kind of action is better suppressed altogether. I would not, therefore, go much into advising; but there is one advice I must give you. It is, in fact, the summary of all advices, and you have heard it a thousand times, I dare say; but I must nevertheless let you hear it the thousandth and first time, for it is most intensely true, whether you will believe it at present or not—viz., that above all things the interest of your own life, depends upon being diligent now while it is called to-day, in this place where you have come to get education. Diligent!—that includes all virtues in it that a student can have: I mean to include in it all qualities that lead on the acquirement of real instruction and improvement in such a place. * * By diligence I mean among other things—and very chiefly—I mean honesty in all your inquiries into what you are about. Pursue your studies in the way your conscience calls honest. More and more endeavor to do that. Keep, I mean to say, an accurate separation between what you have really come to know in your own minds and what is still unknown. Leave all that on the hypothetical side of the barrier, as things afterward to be acquired if acquired at all; and be careful not to stamp a thing as known when you do not yet know it. Count a thing known only when it is stamped on your mind, so that you may survey it on all sides with intelligence. There is such a thing as a man endeavoring to persuade himself, and endeavoring to persuade others, that he knows about things, when he does not know more than the outside skin of them: and yet he goes flourishing about with them." ('Hear, hear,' and a laugh.)

The value and proper office of a university are set forth as follows:

"What the universities have mainly done—what I have found the university did for me was, that it taught me to read in various languages and various sciences, so that I could go into the books that treated of these things, and pry into anything I wanted to make myself master of gradually, as I found it suit me. Whatever you may think of all that, the clearest and most imperative duty lies on every one of you to be assiduous in your reading. Learn to be good readers—which is, perhaps, a more difficult thing than you imagine. Learn to be discriminate in your reading—to read all kinds of things that you have an interest in, and that you find to be really fit for what you are engaged in. Of course, at the present time, in a great deal of the reading incumbent on you, you must be guided by the books recommended to you by your professors for assistance toward the effect of their predilections. And then when you get out of the university, and go into studies of your own, you will find it very important that you have selected a field, a province in which you can study and work. The most unhappy of all men is the man that cannot tell what he is going to do, that has got no work cut out for him in the world, and does not go into it. For work is the grand cure of all the maladies and miseries that ever beset mankind—honest work, which you intend getting done. If you are in a strait, a very good indication as to choice—perhaps the best you could get—is a book you have a great curiosity about. You are then in the readiest and best of all possible conditions to improve by that book. It is analagous to what doctors tell us about the physical health and appetites of the patient. You must learn to distinguish between false appetite and real. There is such a thing as a false appetite, which will lead a man into vagaries with regard to diet, will tempt him to eat spicy things which he should not eat at all, and would not but that it is toothsome, and from a momentary baseness of mind. A man ought to inquire and find out what he really and truly has an appetite for—what suits his constitution; and that, doctors tell him, is the very thing he ought to have, in general. And so with books."

He does not pass from the topic without a hint as to what the young student should read:

"I will say that it is highly expedient to go into history—to inquire into what has passed before you in the family of man. The history of the Romans and Greeks will first of all concern you; and you will find that the classical knowledge you have got will be extremely applicable to elucidate that. There you have the most remarkable races of men in the world set before you—to say nothing of the languages, which your professors can better explain, and which, I believe, are admitted to be the most perfect orders of speech we have yet found to exist among men. And you will find, if you read well, a pair of extremely remarkable nations shining, in the records left by themselves, as a kind of pillar to light up life in the darkness of the past ages; and it will be well worth your while if you can get into the understanding of what these people were, and what they did."

Let us be duly grateful that in this age going mad about sciences, and eager to cram exact knowledges into the youngest head, here is a wise teacher who believes in the old methods. It is a high merit of this address that it enforces the doctrine that a university should concern itself with mental discipline, and leave special studies for later days to be followed by each man as the bent of his mind or the necessities of his life may direct. Upon that topic, and upon the subject of books, here is another passage pregnant with good sense and pervaded with some philosophy:

"One remark more about your reading. I do not know whether it has been sufficiently brought home to you that there are two kinds of books. When a man is reading on any kind of subject, in most departments of books—in all books, if you take it in a wise sense—you will find that there is a division of good books and bad books—there is a good kind of a book and a bad kind of a book. I am not to assume that you are all very ill acquainted with this; but I may remind you that it is a very important consideration at present. It casts aside altogether the idea that people have, that, if they are reading any book—that if an ignorant man is reading any book, he is doing rather better than nothing at all. I entirely call that in question. I even venture to deny it. (Laughter and cheers.) It would be much safer and better would he have no concern with books at all. There are a number, an increasing number of books that are decidedly to him not useful. But he will learn also that a certain number of books were written by a supreme, noble kind of people—not a very great number, but still a number adhere more or less to that side of things. In short, as I have written it down somewhere else, I conceive that books are like men's souls—divided into sheep and goats. (Laughter and applause.) Some of them are calculated to be of very great advantage in teaching—in forwarding the teaching of all generations. Others are going down, down, doing more and more, wilder and wilder mischief. And for the rest, in regard to all your studies here, and whatever you may learn, you are to remember that the object is not particular knowledges—that you are going to get higher in technical perfections, and all that sort of thing. There is a higher aim lies at the rear of all that, especially among those who are intended for literary or speaking pursuits, or the sacred profession. You are ever to bear in mind that there lies behind that the acquisition of what may be called wisdom—namely, sound appreciation and just decision as to all the objects that come round about you, and the habit of behaving with justice and wisdom. In short—great is wisdom—great is the value of wisdom. It cannot be exaggerated; it is the highest achievement of man—'Blessed is he that getteth understanding.' And that, I believe, occasionally may be missed very easily; but never more easily than now, I think. If that is a failure, all is a failure."

There are half a dozen other passages about books which it is difficult not to quote, but we will content ourselves with a fragment of that on the Wilhelm Meister:

"The most remarkable piece of reading that you may be recommended to take and try if you can study it, is a book by Goethe—one of his last books, which he wrote when he was an old man of about 70 years of age—I think one of the most beautiful he ever wrote; full of mild wisdom, and which is found to be very touching by those who have eyes to discern and hearts to feel it. It is one of the pieces in 'Wilhelm Meister's Travels.' I read it through many years ago; and, of course, I had to read into its very heart when I was translating it (applause), and it has always dwelt in my mind as about the most remarkable bit of writing that I have known to be executed in these late centuries. *I have often said, there are ten pages of that which, if ambition had been my only rule, I would rather have written than have written all the books that have appeared since I came into the world.* (Cheers.) Deep, *deep is the meaning of what is said there.* These pages turn on the Christian religion, and the religious phenomena of Christian life—altogether sketched out in the most airy, graceful, delicately wise kind of way, so as to keep himself out of the common controversies of the street and of the forum, yet to indicate what was the result of things he had been long meditating upon."

The concluding passage of the address is as follows:

"On the whole, I would bid you stand up to your work, whatever it may be, and not be afraid of it—not in sorrow or contradiction to yield, but to push on toward the goal; and don't suppose that people are hostile to you in the world. You will rarely find anybody designedly doing you ill. You may feel often as if the whole world is obstructing you, more or less; but you will find that to be because the world is travelling in a different way from you, and rushing on in its own path. Each man has only an extremely good-will to himself—which he has a right to have—and is moving on toward his object. Keep out of literature as a general rule, I should say also. (Laughter.) If you find many people who are hard and indifferent to you in a world that you consider to be unhospitable and cruel—as often, indeed, happens to a tender-hearted, striving young creature—you will also find there are noble hearts who will look kindly on you; and their help will be precious to you beyond price. You will get good and evil as you go on, and have the success that has been appointed to you. I will wind up with a small bit of verse that is from Goethe also, and has often gone through my mind. To me it has the tone of a modern psalm in it, in some measure. It is sweet and clear—the clearest of skeptical men had not anything like so clear a mind as that man had, freer from cant and misdirected notion of any kind than any man in these ages has been. This is what the poet says. It is a kind of marching music of mankind:

The Future hides in it
Gladness and sorrow;
We press still thorow;
Nought that abides in it
Daunting us—Onward!

And solemn before us,
Veiled, the dark Portal,
Goal of all mortal:—
Stars silent rest o'er us—
Graves under us silent.

While earnest thou gazest,
Comes boding of terror,
Comes phantasm and error;
Perplexes the bravest
With doubt and misgiving.

But heard are the voices,
Heard are the sages,
The worlds and the ages;
'Choose well, your choice is
Brief, and yet endless.

'Here eyes do regard you
In Eternity's stillness:
Here is all fulness,
Ye brave, to reward you;
Work, and despair not.'"

"One last word. *Wir Heissen euch hoffen*—We bid you be of hope. Adieu for this time. (Mr. Carlyle resumed his seat amid loud and prolonged applause, after speaking for an hour and a half)."

### *THE VOTE ON THE CIVIL RIGHTS BILL.*

The Washington correspondent of the Worcester (Mass.) *Spy*, gives the following graphic sketch of the scene in the Senate while the Yeas and Nays were taken on the Civil Rights Bill:

With almost fierce delight Saulsbury thundered his belief that the bill's passage would create a revolution; and his voice rose into a yell as he fairly shrieked, exulting that his prediction that war would bring disunion, was fulfilled, and now he had lived to see the Radicals branded as disunionists, he was satisfied. He subsided in a short time. Yates, in a few words, hoped the majority would lose no time, but come to a vote; when McDougall, only "two sheets in the wind," and they not "flowing free," mumbled out his fear of revolution, and entered his protest. He subsided. Mr. Foster announced that the question recurred on the passage of the bill. In our nook, pencils are sharpened and tally lists made ready. Anthony, of brave Rhody, opens with a distinct "yea." Brown, of Missouri, gentle, refined, chivalrous, put his soul into his response. Buckalew grumly gives his negative. Clark speaks out his positive affirmative. Chandler is emphatic. Conness ringing in response. Cragin and Cresswell sharp and clear. So goes the roll. Dixon responds not. Sickness withholds him from iniquity. Davis snarls out his negative. Guthrie, always gentlemanly, gives his expression in the same way. Doolittle's voice is husky. Cowan's negative had his usual ring of combative insolence in it. The call proceeds. One after the other is named, and responds as we know. Gen. Lane, in his surly "no," throws away his reputation and life for a mess of pottage. The next is anxiously looked for. The clerk calls "Morgan." A weary silence passes. Then comes the quiet but curt "yea." In spite of orders and threatened penalties, the galleries break forth in uproarious cheering, through which the intermittent raps of Mr. Foster's hammer resounds. Quiet is restored, but not the hush which had preceded this. We knew the Rubicon was passed, and the right triumphant. So went the call to the end, when gallant Dick Yates made the chamber ring with his congratulatory "yea." Swift went the pencils. Ere the Chairman's voice came freighted with the rich result, we knew the bill had passed by *thirty-three* to *fifteen*—three more than the required vote. Twice had the U. S. Senate set this seal of approbation upon it. Hardly had Mr. Foster's announcement fell from his lips, when the galleries gave back their thundering cheers in welcome to the Act. It was irresistible, contagious, overpowering. Grave senators joined. The triumphant chorus drowns all opposing cries, and for some time the hall rung with the joyous welcome. So closed this great, this memorable day.

An interesting letter from a lady, a looker-on in the gallery, would also have been well worthy a place in The Standard, had it reached us for last week. As it is, two or three anecdotes from it are deserving of record. They relate wholly to persons of color.

"At my side sat Frances Watkins Harper. Her face kindled, her eyes filled, as she rose. 'Tell me,' said she, 'has the bill passed?' and as soon as it was assured to her, she sat down, covered her face, and wept."

"As I turned to speak to a gentleman behind me, my eyes swept over seven most thoughtful dark faces, full of intense anxiety—George Downing, with two ladies, on one seat, and just below them Mrs. Williams and sister, of Washington, whose acquaintance I made in this gallery, on the occasion of the vote on the Veto Message of the Bureau Bill—accompanied by two gentlemen. They were evidently in no mood to smile. There was a terribly real question to be decided, and they watched its progress with most profound, intense interest—all cultivated, refined people. I realized that although our interest was great, and we thought we felt intensely, we could never know how much *they* felt, unless we could change complexions. When I came out of the gallery, I spoke with the waiting-maid, a very intelligent and pleasant light-colored woman. She was deeply exercised over Mr. Morgan's vote, for some reason. Said she, 'I prayed in the Senate Chamber that he might vote *right*.' Said I, 'Were you in the gallery?' 'Yes, on your left; and I knelt down and prayed right there that Senator Morgan might vote right. I couldn't help it, and God heard me.' I thought how glorious it is to put one's record thus on the side of justice and mercy, and receive the benedictions of these long-oppressed ones."

Colored Population of Boston.—The Boston *Journal* says: "The colored population of Boston numbers between 2,500 and 3,000, living principally at the West End. They are, generally speaking, an industrious, intelligent, frugal and quietly-disposed class of people—much more so than they have the credit for. There are among them a large number of mechanics; most of them, however, are laboring men. A large number are quite wealthy, owning property averaging from $500 to $50,000. They support five churches—three Methodist and two Baptist—four of which are upheld entirely by themselves. There are but few paupers among them. They have certainly won for themselves the respect of the community in which they live. Their children attend our public schools, and have equal privileges with the children of their white neighbors, and several of them have been recipients, at different times, of medals for good scholarship."

Which is Most Dangerous?—The New York *Evangelist* declares that "the great danger of this country, to its religious faith, is not Roman Catholicism, but German infidelity." The Boston *Recorder* finds the greatest danger in Catholicism. American Protestantism has undeniably been the hand-maid, the support and sanctification of slavery; and slavery, without German or Roman Catholic aid, has overturned the strongest government on the globe, and may yet waste what remains of the nation. Is such a religion to be trusted, even were both the above dreaded ones out of the question?

### *"AN OLD MINISTER SOLD."*

The present period of *revival* has furnished no more signal instance of change of heart, of genuine conversion, than appears almost every week in the New York *Observer*. Long an eminent scoffer at the most holy things, it now begins to regard them in a humane and even Christian light. Once, a hundred thousand new born babes were stolen in this country every year from their mothers and sent to market with calves and other beasts, and the *Observer* looked on with smiles of diabolic approval. Young women were bred *as near white and as beautiful as possible*, and sold for purposes not to be named, and the *Observer* defended the slave system that did it, from Old Testament, New Testament, Constitution, Roman and Spartan history, and the example of Washington and all the Fathers! Slave-breeding and slave trading were as common and legitimate in Virginia as cattle or sheep-raising in Vermont, and the *Observer* welcomed both alike to its patronage and to the pulpits, and denounced the Abolitionists as infidels and the offscouring of all things. But now behold the glorious change! Sitting, clothed and in its right mind, it heads an article "An Old Minister Sold," and comments on it as below. Sales of ministers and all their households did not once disturb it.

We have published a good many sad stories of the sufferings of poor old ministers lately. But here is one that puts out of sight all others that we ever heard of. A subscriber of more than forty years standing, brings to us a letter from a friend detailing the extraordinary facts, and vouches for their literal truth, in every particular:

"There is an old minister in Charleston, Pa., near Wellsboro', who has always borne an excellent character, and has been a hard-working, good Baptist preacher. Two years since, he was found in his room, sick and destitute. The friends for whom he had spent his strength kindly put him in the *Poor-house*, or

contradiction of the statement, but received instead the following caustic and decided reply :

"Mr. Kelsey desires to know if Miss Dickinson authorized the statement in the *Journal* of March 15th, that she had refused to come to his house because he had refused to entertain Frederick Douglass. Miss D. is not responsible for the announcement, but she did state that she was not willing to go to the house of a man who had committed so great an outrage, not simply to humanity, but on a near personal friend.

'Respectfully, ANNA E. DICKINSON."

Hon. Daniel S. Dickinson died in this city on Thursday of last week. He was born in Goshen, Connecticut, september 11th, 1800.

Mr. Dickinson was in politics a Democrat, and during a long life was active and prominent in his party associations. In the Senate of the United States he acted with the Conservatives. He was regarded as a friend of the South, and his declaration made in the Senate, that he regretted he had not been born in Virginia, was long remembered and quoted against him. But when the South took up arms, Mr. Dickinson at once arrayed himself on the side of the loyal North, and gave voice and vote and influence in behalf of the imperilled Union. Mr. Dickinson was a self-made man. He was a pleasing and convincing speaker and good lawyer. He was blunt of speech, free to express his sentiments, and interlarded his oratory so freely with Biblical phrases, that he was familiarly known as "Scripture Dick."

The *Scotsman* of the 3d publishes the speech of Thomas Carlyle upon his inauguration as Rector of the University of Edinburgh, and says :

"Thomas Carlyle, writer of books, was yesterday installed in the office of Rector of the University of Edinburgh, to which he was chosen by the students in November last. The ceremony took place in the Music Hall, which was thronged by an eagerly curious and enthusiastically cordial auditory. Mr. Carlyle's reception on first entering the Hall, and the frequent subsequent outbreaks of enthusiasm, fully testified to the intense interest which was felt in the return of the lecturer on 'Heroes and Hero Worship' to the rarely visited platform. The formal part of the proceedings over, Mr. Carlyle delivered an address—the drift and form if not the subject of which had been trusted to the inspiration of the moment—on the duties of the student and the proper object of his study, and generally on the question of how the life and work of the student or of any man ought to be lived and done. The address, eloquent in the truest sense, weighty with wisdom, and thoroughly characteristic—though characteristic of Mr. Carlyle in his best and tenderest moods—was listened to with extreme and obviously impressed attention by those within the range of the speaker's voice ; and often during its delivery, and especially at its close, the enthusiasm of the first welcome broke forth in even greater intensity.

THE Washington correspondent of the New York *Herald*, speaking of Raphael Semmes late of the Rebel Navy, who has been unconditionally released by Secretary Welles at the order of the President, says : "A fact or two about the Semmes case seems not to be understood. When the Navy Department first heard of his escape, at the time he surrendered his vessel to Winslow, it submitted its lawfulness to a board of officers composed of Admirals Shubrick and Davis and Capt. Emmons, who unhesitatingly pronounced it a violation of the rules and usages of war. Our Government then notified the rebel authorities at Richmond, through Gen. Butler, that Semmes had violated the terms of his surrender by escaping as he did ; that he was rightfully our prisoner of war, and that we would so consider him, no matter what action was taken by the Confederacy. In the face of this he was placed in command of the James River fleet, and finally captured and paroled with the rebel infantry. Army and navy officers quite generally agree that had Semmes been tried by a military or naval court-martial he would certainly have been hung. His unconditional release by order of the President on Saturday is understood to have been in consequence of the latter's determination that no more military commissions shall be convened in doubtful cases, and that even such offenders as Jeff. Davis shall be tried by civil courts, if at all, unless Congress takes the responsibility of prescribing some other mode. The issue is squarely made. What will Congress do in the premises ?"

Mr. Thomas Downing, a well-known colored citizen of New York, died on Wednesday of last week. Mr. Downing was born in Accomac county, Va., in 1791, and was 75 years of age. He came to this city in 1819, where he has steadily pursued the business of an oysterman. Mr. Downing left Virginia in 1812, and resided for a few years in Philadelphia. He manifested great energy in his business, and was highly successful. His only surviving children are George T. and Peter W. Downing. He was interested in all movements for the elevation of his people. Mr. Downing had no education ; but he knew the value of it, and having taught himself, saw that his children had the advantages which had been denied to him. He sent them abroad to school, and one of them attended college in France. Mr. Downing had a very wide acquaintance in this city, and was generally esteemed. His funeral was on Friday afternoon at St. Phillip's Episcopal church, of which he was a consistent member up to the time of his decease. At half-past twelve o'clock the coffin containing the remains was transferred from Rev. Mr. Peterson's residence, in Wooster street, to the church edifice. A large concourse of mourners accompanied the hearse. The burial service was recited by Rev. Dr. Peterson, who paid a deserved tribute to the general worth and many good qualities of the dead. A church full of his people reverently listened. Upon the lid of the coffin, which was covered with crosses and wreaths of immortelles, was an inscription, setting forth the name, age and date of death of Thomas Downing. After the close of the impressive burial service, the remains were taken to Cypress Hills Cemetery.

A letter in the Boston *Commonwealth*, from Washington Territory, dated Dec. 5th, 1865, gives the following chapter of casualties occurring to the family of a daughter of the late Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, Mrs. Victor Smith. Abolitionists in both hemispheres who knew the cause and its ablest champions, a quarter of a century ago, knew intimately Nathaniel P. Rogers of New Hampshire :

"The family of the late Mr. Victor Smith, United States Treasury Agent, seem to have the calamities of a lifetime fall upon them in quick succession. When they first came here, they lived on the beach at the entrance of a little valley, and one December night, about two years ago, there came rushing through it a torrent of water, which had burst from some accumulations in the mountains, and swept their house into the bay. Mrs. Smith extricated herself and four children from the ruins, and got into a safe place, while two men, in another part of the building were drowned. They saved but a few of their household goods from this wreck. In May last, they were shipwrecked on Roncador Reef, losing most of the clothing they had with them. On the 30th July, just two months after the first shipwreck, Mr. Smith was lost in the 'Brother Jonathan.' Two weeks ago to-night, their new house on the hill, far out of the reach of floods, was burned up, the family just escaping with their lives. Mrs. Smith seized the baby, only twenty-four hours old, and wrapping it in a blanket, walked or stumbled over to the neighboring house, with bare feet and in her night-clothes, the night cold and wet. Strange to say, "mother and child are both doing well." She is a woman of heroic stamp, never hurried or worried, and the fortitude with which she receives her misfortunes, and the skill with which she manages and disciplines her children, are a constant wonder and admiration."

BOOK NOTICES.—Leonard Scott & Co. last week sent us the *London Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Review* for January and *Blackwood* for February. The *Edinburgh* contains : Modern Fresco Painting ; The Youth of Cardinal Mazarin ; Public Galleries and Irresponsible Boards ; An Economist of the Fourteenth Century ; Recent Changes in the Art of War ; Boner's Transylvania ; Was Shakspeare a Roman Catholic? Corn and Cattle ; The Erckmann-Chatrian Novels ; Mary Tudor, and Brandon, Duke of Suffolk ; Extension of the Franchise.

The *London Quarterly*, among other excellent articles, has one on Grote's "History of Plato and other Companions of Socrates," worth more than the price of the whole number.

*Blackwood* continues its serials and has besides : A Religious Novel ; Reform of the Bank of England ; The Position of the Government and their Party.

CORRECTION.—In the report of the recent Anti-Slavery Festival in Boston, *Mrs.* Jonathan Watson, not *Mr.*, paid *eleven* dollars instead of *four*, as was published.

To those who use them, a most desirable article of fire-arms is offered in our advertising department ; unquestionably as good as the world affords of that species.

# Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, April 16th, 1866.

OUR Commonwealth still holds to the conviction that has been traditionally handed down to us, that the public welfare requires the public and deliberate killing of a certain class of criminals. In accordance with that idea, the order of our new Governor was given, some time since, for the hanging of Edward W. Green, the Malden murderer, and the fatal deed was perpetrated last week. It seems strange that, in the Nineteenth century of the era called Christian, and after the decided and emphatic testimony of Jesus against the custom of exacting blood for blood and life for life, we should still hold to the infliction of murder for murder —the custom of violently killing one man because he has violently killed another. It *seems* strange, I say ; but when we look at the causes still in operation to perpetuate this horrible custom, its continuance will appear sufficiently accounted for.

There is still current among men of the world a traditionary notion of the necessity of hanging, as a means at once indispensable and unquestionable for promoting the security of life and property. Since, however, reason and experience unite in opposing this doctrine, it could not stand a moment but for the aid given it by men of the Church, who vigorously demand the same action, though on different grounds, and on grounds not admitting any correction from reason or experience, because formed and held in complete independence of both. There can hardly be a more thorough specimen of the impudence of assumption current among the clergy of the popular faith, than their teaching (in the pretended character of ministers of Jesus Christ) that the Heavenly Father described to us by Jesus *requires* of us, *as a duty*, the cold-blooded killing of the murderer ! They teach this doctrine in the pulpit, and in the extensive department of periodical literature called distinctively "religious," of which they have the exclusive control. Their papers have raised a unanimous cry of rejoicing over the decision that Green must be strangled, as if religion and good morals had gained some decided benefit thereby ; and they evidently feel that men's belief in God's appointment of the gibbet in this world, is the best security for their continuing to believe that He has appointed something yet more horrible for the future state of existence.

The topic last hinted at naturally suggests the efforts now making in this city to confirm and diffuse yet more widely the popular belief in it. The Boston revival is going on, but so moderately that—as physicians, in a doubtful case, call in some practitioner of eminence and large experience for consultation—Dr. Southside Adams and his clerical coadjutors here have called in a professional revivalist, Rev. A. B. Earle. *His* preachings and prayings seem to be relied on as chief among the movements of the campaign, and the other managers of it, clerical as well as lay, seem to group themselves around him, and give him the advantage of their hearty cooperation. I went once to hear and see his method of revival labor. As I expected, Park St. Church (one of those sanctuaries in which, *by vote of the Church*, stringent provision has been made against the purchase of pews by colored people) was filled with an audience desirous to hear him, even at the inconvenient week-day hour of 11 in the forenoon. The material of the audience, however, surprised me. Since revival measures have been in progress three months or so, I expected an assembly of "inquirers," or persons newly impressed by the elaborate and protracted labors in question. But the great majority were elderly and aged women and men (about three of the former to one of the latter), who were obviously Church members of long standing. No doubt they were genuinely interested in the services ; but, interested or not, it is understood to be their duty to attend as many of these meetings as possible, not only to help make the throng which the revival preacher wishes and needs, but to stimulate themselves to the work of active cooperation.

So far as one might judge by a single sermon, Mr. Earle does not depend so much on an appeal to the intellects as to the sensibilities of his hearers. Of his unscrupulousness in the use of means, and of the sort of means upon which he relies for success, an estimate may be formed from the following statements which he made to the audience, by way of preparation for the prayer and sermon : While he was on his knees in his room that morning, interceding for the blessing which they were there assembled to request, *Jesus had promised him* that he would grant the prayers next to be offered in Park St. Church : and [apparently that the audience might be assured by the promise of help on earth as well as in heaven] he further declared to them that "five hundred persons in Chelsea" had promised him that they would be on their knees this morning, at this hour, adding the weight of their supplications to those of the Boston assembly. After this preparation, the sermon began. He took for his text a passage of (Hebrew) Scripture, denouncing the great sin of slackness in the payment of tithes and offerings, and insisted much on the duty of each man to consecrate his *property* as well as himself to the work of diffusing the Gospel. If this duty were properly attended to, he assured his audience that they might confidently expect the windows of heaven to be opened, and a blessing to be poured out upon them. He wished three points to be well settled in each hearer's mind. First, is God *able* to open the windows of heaven, and to open them now ? next, is he *willing* to do this ? and, lastly, are the conditions within our reach ? On this last point he brought forward to his Christian audience, as appropriate and conclusive evidence, the assurance of a Hebrew prophet to Hebrew people, two thousand years ago, that if they would "bring all the tithes into the storehouse," the windows of heaven should be opened, and a blessing be poured out upon them.

Before closing the rambling extemporaneous remarks that he offered by way of sermon, Mr. Earle gave the audience some encouraging instances of the distinguished success of his labors in other places. He described particularly the cases of a "business-man" who had come to him for counsel, in Dr. Turnbull's church, in Hartford—and of a person in the same city who had insisted on coming up to his room and awakening him at midnight, with the information that he (the caller—not the preacher) was going directly to hell. To both these persons he had shown the way of salvation to be so clear and so easy, that they asked in surprise, "Is that all?" He had prayed with both, and before he left them they were going on their way, rejoicing. It might be so now with every one here, if they would only accept the same easy conditions. He earnestly wished that they would do so. He would now "kneel down and offer one consecration prayer," and he wished those to kneel with him who were willing to make an offering of themselves *and their property*. Don't kneel down unless you consent to give *all* to Christ. Let every one who consents and pledges himself to this, kneel down now!—in the gallery first (pointing there), and then in the body of the house (pointing there). Individuals in various parts of the house obeyed the direction of his arm and voice, and soon a decided majority of the audience were kneeling (as the obligations of church membership bound them to do).

The prayer following this demonstration commenced with a rehearsal of the pledge which the speaker had thus been authorized to make by a very large proportion of the assembly, and which he seemed to think would have a powerful influence on the Hearer of prayer. "We give our property," he said, and dedicate it and ourselves to the service of God. And he proceeded to ask (as if in the way of fair and reasonable return)—Let there be a revival of religion commenced now, such as never before was enjoyed in Boston ; let the windows of heaven be opened, and an abundant blessing poured out ; and let some souls be converted here while we are kneeling.

At the close of the prayer, Mr. Earle announced that if any anxious Christian or anxious sinner wished to remain for private conversation, he would stop and speak with them.

Rev. Dr. Kirk, who was in the pulpit to assist the revivalist, then added a few words before the close of the meeting. Although the aspect of the kneeling multitude had been really impressive to an outside observer, it seemed to bring no encouragement to this experienced manager, who perfectly understood the material of which the meeting was composed. He said, with an air of disappointment, that there was no visible presence of God there yet, and that, to some of those present, perhaps no other opportunity would ever be given.

I attended also one of the prayer-meetings held in connection with this movement. Though the invitation was given to all classes and all persons, the attendance was small, and the gathering seemed to consist almost entirely of Church members, the majority of them in the advanced stages of life. They are, however, of a sort accustomed to persevere, and a continuance of their present instrumentalities will bring more or less enlargement—perhaps a very great enlargement—to their churches. Of course, the natural uncertainties, as well as the natural encouragements of labor attend this branch of industry, in common with others. Of course, the revival preacher, like the secular orator and the auctioneer, will sometimes fail of producing the desired effect upon his audience ; but since it remains true, as a general rule, that success will be proportionate to the diligent use of means, our Boston revivalists have good reason to expect success.

NORTH.

# Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, April 15, 1866.

*To the Editor of the Standard :*

SIR : "The Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, for the Relief of Free Negroes unlawfully held in Bondage, and for Improving the Condition of the African Race," celebrated their ninety-first anniversary last evening by a public meeting at National Hall, this city. One year before the birth of American Independence this Society was organized, with Benjamin Franklin for its first President. It has done its work as one of the instrumentalities for creating a public sentiment adverse to slavery and the oppression of the colored race, and in behalf of liberty, justice and humanity. It has lived to see the overthrow of American slavery by a means more violent and powerful than its own quiet, peaceful and moral methods, and before it is a century old let us hope it may be able to witness the disappearance of all the evils which are the natural outgrowths of slavery, and the removal of all the barriers to perfect freedom and the pursuit of happiness that obstruct the pathway of the colored man.

On the occasion of this anniversary were gathered together many of the old and steadfast friends of freedom, whose constant and faithful labors have identified them with the good cause of universal liberty. Familiar faces, co-workers in this broad field of beneficent labor were to be seen there, as willing and interested as ever concerning the claims of justice and humanity upon their watchful attention, with hearts still beating in sympathy with the oppressed, and minds still solicitous for the welfare of those who have so long been the victims of wrong and outrage, of cruel prejudice and persistent hate.

The exercises of the evening were commenced by remarks from Dillwyn Parrish, who occupied the chair. He spoke of the formation and objects of the Society, and of the work that had been accomplished in the interests of freedom. The recent action of Congress was referred to, wherein they had triumphed in favor of the right, and he honored that body for their adherence to just principles. Although chattel slavery has been abolished in our land, he observed that there was a great work yet to be accomplished in behalf of those who were its victims, who are still subject to numerous disabilities. In the fulness of time he hoped to see that good work consummated.

Ryland Warriner next spoke. He referred to the events of that day one year ago—the joyful demonstrations at Fort Sumter and the melancholy event at Washington. He recapitulated the labors in which the Society had been engaged during the past year, showing what an important practical work had been accomplished, and how many colored people had been the recipients of their valuable aid. That stereotyped fact was alluded to and condemned—that disgrace which is peculiar to the city of Philadelphia, that wrong, that cruelty, that crime against humanity, that insult to justice, that outrage upon the rights of man, so mean, so shameful, so unpardonable ; I refer to the exclusion of colored people from our street cars. How long is this wickedness to stare us in the face? How long are we to witness this daily conquest over justice, and defiance of its sacred requisitions? Surely, whilst this proscription exists, neither the members of this venerable society, nor those members of the community who wish impartial justice to prevail, need be reminded of the work yet unfinished in our midst.

Alfred H. Love read letters received from Charles Sumner, Gen. Howard, Senator Trumbull and Gen. Butler, all expresive of kindly sympathy towards the Society, and indicative of a feeling of interest in its philanthropic objects.

Gen. Rufus Saxton was then introduced to the audience. After some observations pertaining to questions in which we all have an interest, he gave an extended account of operations connected with his administration of affairs among the freedmen in South Carolina. Much satisfaction was evinced by his recital of events and narration of circumstances relating to these people, and it was gratifying to know that one so fully alive to their well-being, and so desirous of promoting their comfort and happiness in their changed condition was placed in that important position. Their wants, their present and future good, their general welfare and prosperity seem to have received his care and active attention. Step by step, in one way or another, they made progress towards a better condition, securing themselves either by industry, frugality or the rudiments of education in a more certain and enlarged condition of self-dependence. These early efforts thus bestowed by Gen. Saxton and his coadjutors have been like good seed carefully planted, and each day shows a beneficent growth and happy results.

Hon. Horace Maynard was the next speaker. This gentleman is by no means a Radical, and though differing from Andrew Johnson in some of the questions that have lately attracted popular attention, he manifests no particular antipathy to some of the views of that inconsistent man. His ideas of freedom are parallel with those of the President, and were the colored people of the South never to realize a higher standard thereof than the language of such men indicates, they would become perpetual claimants of our sorrow and compassion. But freedom has a larger circle than mere labor and its compensation implies, comprehending something higher, holier and sublimer. It does not shut out the operation of sacred principles in their application to practical life, its development and happiness and the men who are to-day laboring in the interest of the negro would have a mean appreciation of their object if they could bestow upon him nothing worthier or nobler among the gems of human rights than the paltry definition of the President signifies. Mr. Maynard evinces none of that contemptible prejudice against the colored man so common among us here, nor is he indifferent concerning their welfare. In his remarks he was quite emphatic in declaring that justice to them and to ourselves, as well as good faith, requires that we should make their liberty a reality, and not an illusion. Although not specially inclined to advocate universal suffrage, he believes the time will come when not only negroes, but women, likewise, will vote. He desired to say to the colored people that they must be true to themselves. Let me entreat you, said he, not to look to the white man for your "Moses." When your leader comes he will be one of your own people, proud that he is such, and grateful to God for his opportunity.

When this gentleman had concluded his remarks, Judge Kelley, who was observed among the audience, was loudly called for. He could not resist the enthusiastic invitation to speak, and stepped forward to the platform, amid applause that greeted him on every hand. In his stirring remarks he called upon the most ancient of the venerable men about him to plunge into the political sphere, and to raise their voices demanding the ballot for the black man. In giving him the suffrage you give him, said he, the means of protecting all his rights ; but by withholding it you deprive him of the power of such protection. In illustration of the narrow idea of freedom, he displayed to the audience a piece of cowhide stained with blood, which had been sent to him from North Carolina, and which had been used in the infliction of thirty-nine lashes on the bare back of a negro. The person from whom he received it, a kinsman of his, witnessed the horrible punishment. Had the freedmen in North Carolina the right to vote, said the speaker, the laws of that State could not be made to sanction such inhumanity. They would remedy such atrocities. Other examples of the tyranny and injustice of Southern laws were mentioned, showing the despotism that rules over the negroes, and their inability to gain redress and to protect themselves against legalized abuse save through the agency of the ballot.

Earnestly did the speaker call upon his hearers to exert themselves in averting civil war by a right constitution of the next Congress. Should the rebels and Copperheads then have a majority, they would make demands that would tend to jeopard the peace of our country. He remarked that the President one day told Ames, of Massachusetts, not to be "too hard on the rebels ; for the next rebellion will not be in the South, and it may not be a great way off." If you do not elect from the North, remarked the speaker, a clear and clean majority of loyal representatives for the Fortieth Congress, counting the whole number of districts, *the next December inaugurates war for this land*, if Andrew Johnson is then living.

O.

AARON M. POWELL addressed a meeting at Easton, N. Y., on Tuesday evening, the 17th inst., David Baker presiding. Resolutions were unanimously adopted urging Congress to secure the ballot to all loyal citizens, without distinction of color in the rebellious States ; to initiate measures for an amendment of the Constitution guaranteeing throughout the nation impartial, intelligent suffrage ; approving the passage of the Civil Rights bill over the Presidential veto, and calling for a convention to revise the Constitution of this State and repeal the odious class distinction on account of color. A movement was also inaugurated to get up a STANDARD club in that locality. Mr. Powell, it is expected, will attend a meeting, in connection with S. S. and A. K. Foster, in the Free Hall at Tatnic, Mass., near Worcester, on Sunday next, the 22d inst.

STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.—Among the bills recently passed by the Legislature at Albany, is one formally submitting to the people of the State the question whether there shall be a Convention for a revision of our State Constitution. It will be the duty of the friends of freedom throughout the State to leave no opportunity unimproved to create such a public opinion as will not only insure the holding of the Convention, but in it to secure the unqualified repeal of the odious property qualification for colored men, and the striking out of the word "male" as qualification for suffrage.

A. M. P.

## *RESOLUTIONS OF THE PHILADELPHIA FEMALE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.*

AT a meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, held April 12th, 1866, the following Resolutions ware unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That we hail the passage of the Civil Rights bill, by more than two-thirds of the Congress of the United States, after it had been vetoed by the President, as an indication of the purpose of that body to resist successfully the assaults upon Justice and Human Liberty made by Andrew Johnson ; and we do earnestly entreat those members of the Senate and House of Representatives, whose real and persistent labor accomplished the passage of this bill, that they will, to the utmost extent of their power, secure its practical enforcement in every part of this country.

Resolved, That the thanks of this nation are due to those Senators and Representatives of the Thirty-Ninth Congress who are bravely battling for Liberty and Human Rights against a President of the United States who has betrayed the party who elected him, a people who trusted him in the hour of their bereavement and peril, who has broken his solemn promises of protection to the oppressed millions of our land, and joined himself to their oppressors. (Signed) LUCRETIA MOTT, Pres.

G. M. S. P. JONES, Sec.

## *LAME AND LAZY.*

A FABLE.

[The following is from the British *Friend*. Scattered through the South it might prove a leaf for the healing of the nation. We commend it to the consideration of the Freedmen's Bureau.]

Two beggars, Lame and Lazy, were in want of bread. *One* leaned on his crutch, the *other* reclined on his couch. Lame called on Charity, and humbly asked for a *cracker*. Instead of a cracker, he received a *loaf*.

Lazy, seeing the gift of Charity, exclaimed : "What! ask a *cracker* and receive a *loaf!* Well, I will ask a loaf." Lazy now applied to Charity, and called for a loaf of bread. "Your demanding a loaf," said Charity, "proves you a *loaf-er*. You are of that class and character who *ask* and *receive not*, because you ask amiss."

Lazy, who always found fault, and had rather whine than work, complained of *ill-treatment*, and even accused Charity of a breach of an exceeding great and precious promise : "Ask, and ye shall receive."

Charity pointed him to a painting in her room, which presented to his vision three personages, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Charity appeared larger and fairer than her sisters. He noticed that her right hand held a pot of honey, which fed a bee disabled, having lost its wings. Her left hand was armed with a whip to keep off the drones.

"I do not understand it," said Lazy. Charity replied ; "It means that Charity *feeds* the lame, and *flogs* the lazy." Lazy turned to go. "Stop," said Charity, "instead of *coin*, I will give you *counsel*. Do not go and live on your poor mother ; I will send you to a *rich aunt*."

"*Rich aunt!*" echoed Lazy. "Where shall I find her?" "You will find a description of her," replied Charity, "in Proverbs vi., 6, 7, and 8, which reads as follows ; 'Go to the *ant*, thou sluggard ; consider her ways, and be wise ; which, having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in Summer, and gathereth her food in the harvest.'"

MORAL. Instead of begging, or waiting and wishing for a rich UNCLE *to die*, go and see how a rich ANT *lives*.

## *THE FREEDMEN.*

A MEETING was held last week in Boston, at which Mr. Garrison presided, from the proceedings of which we give the following extracts, copied from the Boston Daily *Advertiser* :

Gov. Bullock was expected to preside, but pressing business prevented ; and, in his stead, William Lloyd Garrison occupied the Chair.

Mr. Garrison, in opening the meeting, stated that the object of the Commission is to fill the South with light, to disseminate education throughout that region. During the reign of slavery this was impossible ; but now we have reason to thank God for the abolition of slavery, and the progress of free institutions, and must, in spite of the opposition of the South, implant schools and kindred institutions all over that land. Mr. Garrison called upon Rev. Lyman Abbott, General Secretary of the Commission, to address the meeting.

Mr. Abbott said that the Commission demands equal rights for all men. We ask nothing more, and will be satisfied with nothing less, so help us God! A few weeks ago, a colored boy was taken from his widowed mother, and, under the apprentice law of Maryland, apprenticed to an old slaveholder. Although we may not consider it politic, we have no objection to such action, if it be impartial ; but we will have no such thing for negroes merely. He read extracts from private letters from the South, showing the ability and disposition of the freedmen to labor and do their work to the satisfaction of their employers, when their just rights are guaranteed. Of one hundred thousand free negroes in TEXAS, only sixty-seven receive support from the Government. The Commission demands the repeal of all laws discriminating between white and black, and adopts, as its specific work, education. The work of education cannot be accomplished by Government or the churches, but by the school-house. Mr. Abbott stated that the Commission has now 660 teachers actually engaged in instructing people at the South, chiefly negroes. Their pupils numbered at the last report seventy thousand, but increase so rapidly that it is impossible to say how many there are at present. Florida has appointed a superintendent of freedmen's schools, and Tennessee has made creditable progress in that direction. He quoted from Gen. Fiske's report that much was being done for the white poor, as well as black, by organizations among the freedmen.

Brig-Gen. T. W. Conway, late Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana, was next introduced. He remarked that it was a great pleasure to him to meet such an assemblage in Boston, having just come from the burning flames of Louisiana. It seemed like getting half way to heaven. He said that Gov. Wells is at the head of the establishment in Louisiana, and is one of the meanest men he ever saw. Elected by the loyal men of that State as a loyal man, and the election expenses borne principally by wealthy colored men in New Orleans, after returning from an interview with President Johnson, even Jeff. Davis could not have been a worse traitor. Gen. Conway said that he had stood by, and seen Gov. Wells give commissions to late Confederate officers who still wore their badges of pretended honor given by the Southern Confederacy ; and these are the men by whom the freedmen are to be governed and protected. Can he be the same Andrew Johnson who was to be the "Moses" of the colored people, if necessary, that is now sending South men who displace every loyal man from office, and put in Confederate generals and colonels? Gov. Wells said, more than a year ago, that Andrew Johnson was going to put his hand to the throats of the Radicals, and that the South had no better friend. The speaker alluded to the unfair and contemptuous manner of allowing negroes to testify, to the penalties inflicted on black convicts, such as were imposed during the existence of the Black Code, and observed that, in some cases, judges refuse to receive testimony from colored people ; and, while he was Superintendent of the Freedmen's Bureau, they came in a delegation to his headquarters, declaring that slavery was not abolished, and that the emancipation proclamation was unconstitutional. Many believe, even now, that the Supreme Court will decide it illegal, and restore to them compensation for their lost property. In the course of his remarks, he stated that Gov. Wells had told him that he hoped and expected, that, in the course of two years, the negroes would be exterminated. No confidence can be placed in the Southerners. The only remedy is the ballot for the freedmen. On the score of intelligence, they are not behind the majority of the inhabitants of Louisiana. When President Johnson strangled the school system of the Bureau in that State, one-half the freedmen could read ; and if let alone for two years, ninety per cent. of them would have been able to read the Constitution, and sign their names at the bottom. The veto messages show the Government will not sustain the negroes. President Johnson will strangle any measure calculated for their elevation. Gen. Conway said that, when this message came out, he thanked God that the Freedmen's Bureau, which was made to be under the control of a Moses, had not fallen under that of a Pharaoh. The people must take the matter of educating and protecting the negroes in their own hands, and, as soon as they have the needed information, they will.

Mr. Garrison then rose to dismiss the audience. He read extracts from the New York *Times* illustrative of the cruelty practiced by the Southerners upon the blacks and their friends. He declared the late rebels to be indifferent to perjury, ignorant of the meaning of patriotism, and not to be trusted with their own government. Speaking of the President, he said that he had destroyed the colored people, and leads the traitors of the South and the Copperheads of the North. God only knows what is before us for the next three years! Unquestionably, a new conflict ; and should the massacre of St. Domingo be repeated, should a war of extermination begin, Andrew Johnson will be responsible for all the blood shed.

## *MOBBING A SCHOOL IN VIRGINIA.*

SOUTHERN members of Congress used sometimes to thank God that there were no free schools nor newspapers in the districts they represented. The following extract of a letter in the *Freedmen's Record*, from a brave young lady teacher in Warrenton, Va., reveals there a determination to perpetuate that delectable condition :

"Last night I had more than a hundred at my night-school. Of course, I could do nothing with so many alone, but Lieut. McNulty kindly volunteered his services until another teacher was sent to me. After his tedious duties in his office all day, I think nothing would have induced him to undertake the task but the unselfish interest he takes in these poor, persecuted people ; and he also felt it was not safe for me to be there with no other protection than these colored people. Subsequent events have proved him to be right, although I did not anticipate such violence as has been shown us. Last night, soon after we entered upon the evening, our school-room was attacked by a party of rowdies, and we were surprised by a volley of rocks and stones being hurled into the room, dashing the windows into fragments. One large rock, the weight and force of which would have killed me instantly, fell a few inches on one side. It seemed Providential that neither of us was hurt. Several of the stones came near Lieut. McNulty, but were intercepted by two colored men who stepped between him and the window. It seems that one young white man, while I was seated in the school-room, calling the roll-list, came up to the head of the stairs, and thus learned our respective positions, so as to take correct aim. The colored people were exasperated ; and, at the first impulse, rushed towards the stairs to go down to the street and resent the insults ; but the Lieutenant at once prevented them, as it would have been called a 'nigger riot' by the people. He then addressed them calmly, telling them to go quietly to their homes, to be patient yet a little longer amid persecutions, and in time they would be rewarded for their forbearance.

"Lieut. McNulty has had notes put under his office door for some time, with threats of various kinds, if the 'nigger school' was not stopped ; and a note was placed under the door of Mrs. Cox (the lady in whose house I have a room), containing the most violent threats addressed to me. I know I shall not be safe here, unless forces are sent. Maj. Johnson promised to send some two weeks ago, but they have not come. To-day we make another appeal. I suppose I shall be obliged to discontinue the night-school until the soldiers come, as it is very likely the building might be fired while we were in it. I am so sad about it, for you can have no idea of the interest of our evening school. We see men and women about the streets, at their work, with books peeping from their pockets, stealing a moment now and then to study. The facts of this interest and our perseverance have enraged the white people. They cannot bear to see these people, whom they have treated like brutes—incapable of any higher attainments than the brutes, as they say—having equal advantages with themselves. What cruelty! I think we have a most excellent population of colored people here. I feel more determined than ever to remain, in spite of the obstacles. S. FANNIE WOOD.'

Another lady, Miss Jane Hoamer, writes from Summerville, also in the Boston *Freedmen's Record :*

"I have just returned from my afternoon school. It has prospered beyond what I dared to hope in the beginning. I have six colored girls over eighteen years of age who are progressing admirably, and who hope to become capable of teaching. Three of the number are black, the others bright, pretty-faced mulattoes. One of the latter spoke, the first week of the school, of the 'poor white buckra' with much scorn ; but, on my talking over the matter with her, she said she knew it was wrong ; and I am pleased to state I have had no trouble of the same nature in school since. They stand side by side in their classes with the white children, and I think now feel kindly toward them.

"Many of the younger colored children you would fail to pick out as such. Some of them have blue eyes with their flaxen hair. I do not know but you would recognize them though, in distinction from the poor white class, by their bright, animated faces, and better style of dress. The white children are doing well as pupils ; but many of them are wholly wanting in the usual attributes of childhood. I should be greatly surprised to find one at all inclined to play in school, and their pale, 'woe-begone' looking faces would trouble you, I know. There are several energetic-looking ones, however, who walk many miles, over the worst of roads, that I will except from the average.

"Two Southern ladies visited the school last week. They were wealthy before the war—owned many slaves. They told me they were curious to see the school, and concluded to visit it. I thought them somewhat surprised to see the white children sit side by side with the black, but they made no comment ; and I think they must have been interested, as they remained two hours."

## *VIRGINIA AND THE FREEDMEN.*

MR. JOSEPH SEGAR, said to be a Union man, has written a long letter to Gen. Howard, of the Freedmen's Bureau, to show that the Virginia Legislature is really giving the condition of the Freedmen serious consideration. Below are extracts relating to the most important particulars :

ROSELAND, ELIZABETH CITY COUNTY, VA., March 24, 1866.

*To Gen.* O. O. HOWARD, *Commissioner Freedmen's Affairs, U. S. :*

MY DEAR SIR : Aware from public criticisms, that the late General Assembly of Virginia has not had due credit for its legislation in regard to the colored freedmen, and desiring that my State should not be misunderstood in so important a matter, I beg to sketch to you what was really done in the premises.

First, as to contracts for labor between white and colored persons, it is provided as follows :

"That no contract between a white person and a colored person, for the labor or service of the latter for a longer period than two months, shall be binding on such colored person, unless the contract be in writing, signed by such white person or his agent and by such colored person, and duly acknowledged before a justice or notary public, or clerk of the county or corporation court, or overseer of the poor, or two or more creditable witnesses, in the county or corporation court in which the white person may reside, or in which the labor or service is to be performed. And it shall be the duty of the justice, notary, clerk or overseer of the poor, or the witnesses, to read and explain the contract to the colored person, before taking his acknowledgement thereof, and to state that this has been done in the certificate of acknowledgment of the contract."

This provision, I am informed by prominent members of the Assembly, was designed *expressly* to prevent oppression of the freedman, and to secure for him the proceeds of his labor, and such obviously is the effect. It prevents imposition upon him by the designing white man, by reducing to the certainty of writing the contracts between the two, and so evidencing the contract that misunderstanding or imposition is next to impossible.

Secondly, as to masters and apprentices, it is enacted as follows :

"SECTION 5. The writing by which any minor is bound an apprentice, shall specify his age, and what art, trade or business he is to be taught. The master, whether it is expressly provided therein or not, shall be bound to teach the same, and shall also be bound to teach him reading, writing and common arithmetic, including the rule of three."

By the code of '60, in force at the opening of the rebellion, and at its close, the foregoing provision applied to whites only. Now, it is extended to colored persons. The former laws relating to the apprenticing of negro children are repealed by bill, so that from this time henceforward negro apprentices are to be taught, at the expense of the master, *reading, writing and common arithmetic, including the rule of three.*

Thirdly, the marital relation between colored persons has been made a subject of legal regulations.

Heretofore, the marriage of colored persons was not a matter of legal arrangement. There was nothing of the solemnity of the marriage rite. Colored persons cohabited without legal or moral restraint, which was confessedly one of the abominable demoralizations of the institution of Slavery. Now, the negro must procure his marriage license as the white person, and henceforth it is made the "duty of every minister or other person celebrating a marriage, and of the clerk or the keeper of the records of any religious society, which solemnizes marriages, by the consent of the parties, in open congregation, at once to make a record of every marriage between white persons, or between colored persons, solemnized by or before him, stating in such record whether the persons be white or colored, and within two months after such marriage to return a copy thereof, signed by him, to the Clerk of the County or Corporation in which the same is solemnized."

Provision is further made for those who had, before the passage of the act, held the relation of man and wife without the solemnization of the marriage rites, and for legitimizing the issue of such unsolemnized marriages. The following is the law :

"Where colored persons, before the passage of this act, shall have undertaken and agreed to occupy the relation to each other of husband and wife, and shall be cohabiting together as such at the time of its passage, whether the rites of marriage shall have been celebrated between them or not, they shall be deemed husband and wife, and be entitled to the rights and privileges, and subject to the duties and obligations of that relation in like manner as if they had been duly married, and all their children shall be deemed legitimate, whether born before or after the passage of this act. And when the parties have ceased to cohabit before the passage of this act, in consequence of the death of the woman, or from any other cause, all the children of the woman, recognized by the man to be his, shall be deemed legitimate."

Bigany, too, is punished in the case of the negro as of the white person, and also intermarriage within the prohibited degree. And all persons officiating in marriage without due authority of law, are punished by fine and imprisonment.

Under the old code, these provisions applied only to white persons.

With respect to crimes and punishments, and criminal proceedings, there is next to entire "equality before the law" for the freedmen, as the following statute will show :

"*Be it enacted by the General Assembly*, That every person having one-fourth or more of negro blood, shall be deemed a colored person, and every person, not a colored person, having one-fourth or more of Indian blood, shall be deemed an Indian."

2. All laws in respect to crimes and punishments, and in respect to criminal proceedings, applicable to white persons, shall apply in like manner to colored persons and to Indians, unless when it is otherwise specially provided.

As to admission to testify, the following is the law :

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# Miscellaneous Department.

## THE FLOWER'S NAME.

Here's the garden she walked across,
Arm in my arm, such a short while since:
Hark, now I push its wicket, the moss
Hinders the hinges and makes them wince!
She must have reached this shrub ere she turned,
As back with that murmur the wicket swung;
For she laid the poor snail, my chance foot spurned,
To feed and forget it the leaves among.

Down this side of the gravel-walk
She went while her robe's edge brushed the box;
And here she paused in her gracious talk
To point me a moth on the milk-white phlox.
Roses, ranged in valiant roy,
I will never think that she passed you by!
She loves you, noble roses, I know;
But yonder see, where the rock plants lie!

This flower she stopped at, finger on lip,
Stooped over, in doubt, as settling its claim;
Till she gave me, with pride to make no slip,
Its soft, meandering Spanish name.
What a name! Was it love, or praise?
Speech half-asleep, or song half-awake?
I must learn Spanish, one of these days,
Only for that slow, sweet name's sake.

Roses, if I live and do well,
I may bring her, one of these days,
To fix you fast with as fine a spell,
Fit you each with his Spanish phrase!
But do not detain me now; for she lingers
There, like sunshine over the ground,
And ever I see her soft white fingers
Searching after the bud she found.

Flower, you Spaniard, look that you grow not,
Stay as you are and be loved forever!
Bud, if I kiss you 'tis that you blow not,
Mind, the shut pink mouth opens never!
For while thus it pouts, her fingers wrestle,
Twinkling the audacious leaves between,
Till round they turn and down they nestle,—
Is not the dear mark still to be seen?

Where I found her not, beauties vanish;
Whither I follow her beauties flee;
Is there no method to tell her in Spanish
June's twice June since she breathed it with me?
Come, bud, show me the least of her traces,
Treasure my lady's lightest footfall;
—Ah, you may flout and turn up your faces,—
Roses, you are not so fair after all!

ROBERT BROWNING.

## YOUTHFUL PROMISE.

From the Saturday Review.

It is as great a puzzle to know what becomes of all the promising young men, as it was to the little girl of the story where on earth all the bad people were buried. Most parents have, at one time or another, congratulated themselves on possessing a child of remarkable promise, and then being awakened to see most ordinary and common-place fulfilment. Fortunately, they have, as a rule, acquired sense enough in the interval to enable them to bear the disappointment with proper resignation. For the ambition of parents for their children, like the ambition on their own behalf, undergoes wonderful changes as their experience of the world grows wider. The father who gives a tip to his boy for getting to the top of his class, is apt to entertain a vague and complacent conviction that he is rearing an archbishop, or a chancellor, or a great author, just as his own tastes may happen to be.

But ten years later he is amazingly pleased to learn that his lad evinces a genius for book-keeping by double entry, and for mounting his high stool with punctuality. Just in the same way the lad's ambition gets gradually modified. What at first would have seemed a pitiful aim indeed, slowly assumes the proportions of a crowning success. In life, as in other journeys, distances are wonderfully deceptive, and the peaks and pinnacles which to the ardor and inexperience of youth seem quite close at hand, and easily accessible, generally turn out to be ever so remote, and only surmountable, if at all, by vigorous and prolonged efforts, for which only a few constitutions, specially trained and circumstanced, are hardy enough.

One great secret of the exaggerated notions entertained about promising youths, is the confusion of conduct with capacity, of goodness with power. By promise, people most commonly mean promise of those things in gaining which intellectual ability tells more than any quantity of well-regulated actions and decorous counting-house virtues. They mean those great professional prizes and lofty political positions, and grand literary reputations, which are won by vigor, acuteness, breadth, or profundity of understanding. The grounds on which a lad earns a reputation for promise are, in an ordinary way, exclusively moral grounds. He is industrious, persevering, docile, well-mannered. He always knows his lessons, and is never insolent, or quarrelsome. And this sort of good boy may very well be called a boy of promise, and it is probable that his life will be one of more even happiness than that of the boy of fulfilment. But then the results which he is likely to achieve, satisfactory as they may be in themselves, are not at all those which his too partial friends delight to anticipate for him.

Punctuality and conformity to discipline, and an aversion to blots and dog-eared books, and the ruder tastes of his compeers, are very excellent things, and they certainly promise a tomb-stone on which the characteristics of a tender husband, a good father and a just citizen will have more than their conventional significance. Still, friends, ambitious by proxy, aspire to something more than unusually truthful tombstone. An immortal poem, or a series of unrivalled orations, or a history which shall live as long as our language, or a political wisdom and beneficence which shall win the undying gratitude of the poor—this is the kind of object which they expect their promising favorite to propose to himself and to attain. The most saintly abhorrence of blots, unfortunately, is not the only requisite for a great poet, perhaps is no requisite at all. The youth who has never in his life disobeyed a master, or neglected the smallest monition of his college tutor, or once missed attendance at chapel, may still not be eloquent or profound. Charles James Fox, as he appeared at the gaming table, with his coat turned inside out for luck, or lying in the hot weather pretty nearly stark naked on the sofa, would scarcely have been thought a young man of promise. Yet he was a man of fulfilment for all that. He would have done a great deal more if he had not frequented the tables, no doubt; but he is one out of ten thousand illustrations of the commonplace that a man may make a great mark in spite of almost every vice that human nature can fall into.

And it is this making a great mark which is predicted when a young man is said to be of wonderful promise. Of course the converse error is much more pernicious and stupid, though it is not at all rare, of arguing that he must be a genius who displays an habitual disregard of the proprieties of conduct. Lying about without clothes in hot weather, or hastening to ruin on the turf, is no sure guarantee for the possession of eloquence or political ability or anything else. A total disrespect for the good opinion of persons around one may, on certain subjects, be a very wholesome and promising characteristic, and the person whom it marks may do excellent service both to himself and others in virtue of it, but where an ignoble kind of self-indulgence prompts this disrespect, it can only, in spite of the example of Fox and plenty of others, be a hindrance to him at every point. Hence the infatuated folly of parents, or of the young men themselves, who mistake all sorts of sheer bad habits for spirit and originality; the truth being that neither bad habits nor good habits are the cause or the measure of that native vigor of mind which lies at the root of the most conspicuous and glittering successes of life.

This vigor can only be tested, if at all, in the most hopelessly imperfect way during the time of youth; and so people form their judgments of a man's future from one or two moral qualities, which in truth have much less to do with the kind of future they are thinking about than the intellectual qualities which they have scarcely any trustworthy means of measuring. We nearly always find in the biographies of distinguished men, that at school or college they gave no remarkable sign of their future power; and even were this not the case, the predictions of greatness may commonly be traced to a time after the greatness had been achieved. The child may, in a sense, be father to the man; and nobody of any judgment will deny that we are born with peculiar temperaments and our own individual predispositions. But character is the compound product of predisposition and experience. You cannot predict anything of the product until you know something of the second of these factors, and even then it is unsound to argue that the combination of what seem like the same temperaments with what appears to be the same sort of experience, will always be identical. Experience, or perhaps we should rather say the demand for independent action, every day gives rise to conduct which astounds us, and mystifies all our calculations.

It is impossible to be quite sure how a boy or a young man will turn out after he has looked out upon the world beyond the class-room. This uncertainty is notorious, even in respect of the moral half of character. Lads who have been angels with pure white wings up to one-and-twenty, not unseldomly develop—by a process, we suppose, of natural selection—into imps with horrid horns and hoofs before they have left home a twelvemonth. But the influence of the demands of life upon the intellectual part of men, is often still more extraordinary and still more unforeseeable. Some whom, on account of their school-room virtues, their friends insisted on raising aloft on pedestals, no sooner get fairly out into that big world than they seem to be scared by the size of things, and to be utterly lacking in that intrepidity of the intellect which is so needful for great successes. Others, again, whose intellectual energies have hitherto passed for second-rate, and of whom nobody entertained very sanguine hopes, have their imagination excited, their faculties braced, all their powers stimulated by the novelty and bustle and Brobdingnagian dimensions of the new scene to which they are introduced. The nature of this impression, and the way it strikes people of different original quality, are points nearly always overlooked in talk about early promise.

Intellectual intrepidity, as it is one of the most vital conditions of that eminent success which people urgently desire for their sons or their friends, is just that at which men of promise ordinarily stop short of fulfilment. With manful assurance they march up to the fight, but discretion suddenly steps in and freezes their intent. Everybody understands what this means in a physical conflict, but not everybody discerns how the same thing may occur to men who think of entering the arena where the contest is not waged with the arm of flesh. We all admire the courage which enables a man to lead his men against a battery, or to join a forlorn hope, and we admit that such a virtue is the first essential of a successful warrior. But we do not usually understand how much the same quality, only intellectual instead of physical, is needed for a man who sits down to write the history of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, or of Modern Civilization, or who aspires to be a conspicuous power in the political world, or to attain distinguished success in science or philosophy. Yet these are the results too commonly anticipated in the expression that so and so, under five-and-twenty, is a person of great promise; which, being interpreted, means that he is industrious, and of good morality, and decently intelligent. That he should be all this is, as we have already said, promising, but only as far as it goes. It promises comfort and good repute, and nothing else; and even then the promise is not worth much, as a thing to rely on, when we reflect how often the first whiff of the world blows away the surface habits of youth into space, making all clean and garnished for the reception of seven or some other number of devils and unclean spirits.

But exemplary conduct is not the only thing from which promise is wrongly inferred. It is equally common to find people mistaking ambition for capacity. The strength of the passion for fame is supposed to be some measure of the intellectual strength required for gratifying it, and foolish persons fancy that if a young man only starts in life with a sufficient vehement desire to get to the top of the tree, he cannot fail. Put in a point-blank way, nobody could be taken in by the fallacy; only people do not put things to themselves in this way. We are always more or less ready to take appearance for reality in matters which do not concern ourselves personally in any very urgent degree, and to allow people to pass themselves off at their own estimate. So if a young fellow gives one to understand, quietly, of course, and without braggadocio or bluster, that he has a vehement desire—and in the days of youth desire is synonymous with intention—to rise to eminence in some given line, one is disposed to give him ordinary credit for possessing the ability which the attainment of his desire would imply. Hence he is given out to be a man of extraordinary promise—promise in this case only meaning what his conceit and rash confidence promise to themselves, and not what his abilities justify.

After all, the misunderstanding of what constitutes promise is only a branch of the wider ignorance of the conditions of success generally. Dr. Johnson we think it was who said that youth always miscalculates two things—the value of money and the difficulty of reaching eminence. Young men disregard and waste the one, and they think they can have the other by merely wishing and asking. But is youth the only age at which one calculates the pains of winning distinction far below their true magnitude? Does not everybody, except those who have already tried to advance some way up the steep path, think the ascent a great deal easier than it is? True, there are crowds of imposters in the Temple of Fame, who have got up where they are by bubbles or balloons. But they are only there for a time. Perhaps it may comfort men who discover that what they or their friends mistook for promise is nothing of the sort, to reflect that even those who most deserve eminence only enjoy it for a while; and, beside, that the atmosphere of these lofty peaks would most likely prove not at all congenial to those others whom nature and circumstances have united to fit for the plain.

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THE OLDEST MAN IN THE WORLD.—Joseph Crele, probably the oldest man in the world, died, after a brief illness, at the residence of his grand-daughter, Mrs. Brisbois, in Caledonia, Wisconsin, on the 27th of January last, at the age of one hundred and forty-one years. Twice three score and ten years may be called a ripe old age. He attained an age greater by twenty years than that enjoyed by the next oldest man of modern times, Jean Claude Jacob, a member of the French National Assembly, who was called the "Dean of the human species," and who died at the age of one hundred and twenty-one. This man bore arms at Braddock's defeat, was an old man when Jackson defeated Pakenham at New Orleans, venerable when Taylor whipped Santa Anna at Buena Vista, and yet was not too old to rejoice when Lee surrendered to Grant.

Joseph Crele was born of French parents in what is now Detroit, but which was then only an Indian trading station, in 1725. The record of his baptism in the Catholic church of that city establishes this fact beyond a doubt. He was a resident of Wisconsin for about a century, and was the oldest citizen in that State beyond any dispute. Whenever the oldest citizen was alluded to, every Wisconsonian declared Joseph Crele was the man meant. He was first married in New Orleans in 1755, having grown to be a bachelor of thirty. A few years after his marriage he settled at Prairie du Chien, while Wisconsin was yet a province of France. Before the Revolutionary war, he was employed to carry letters between Prairie du Chien and Green Bay. A few years ago he was called as a witness in the Circuit Court of Wisconsin, in a case involving the title to certain real estate in Prairie du Chien, to give testimony in relation to events that transpired eighty years before, and many years before the litigants were dreamt of.

For some years past he had resided at Caledonia with a daughter by his third wife. This child was a little over seventy years of age a couple of years ago, but we do not know whether she survives her father or not. He was sixty-nine when she was born. Up to 1864 Mr. Crele was as hale and hearty as most men of seventy. He could walk several miles without fatigue, and was frequently in the habit of chopping wood for the family use. He went to all elections, and from the time he first voted for Washington, he had always voted the the straight-cut Union ticket. He had no bad habits, except that he was an inveterate smoker; but this is not considered among the small vices in the land of Grant and Sherman. In person he was rather above the medium height, spare in flesh, but showing evidences of having been in his prime—a century or so before—a man of sinewy strength. Of late years a haunting sense of loneliness overwhelmed and seemed to sadden him. The only weakness of mind which he ever betrayed was in the last year or two of his existence, when he frequently remarked, with a startling air of sadness, that he feared that perhaps "Death had forgotten him;" but he would always add, with more cheerfulness, that he felt sure "God had not."
—*Historical Magazine.*

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SIMPLICITY IN LANGUAGE.—Don't part with your common sense when you write. You need not make an idiot of yourself, because you have a pen in your hand. Be simple, be honest, be unaffected in your speaking and writing. Never use a long word where a short one will do. Call things by their right names; never smother your thought with a cloud of phrases; let a spade be a spade, not a well known oblong instrument of manual industry; let home be home, not a residence; a place a place, not a locality. Write much as you would speak; speak as you think. With your inferiors, speak no coarser than usual; with your superiors, no finer. Be what you say, and say what you are. Avoid all oddity of expression. The wise man will so speak that no one may observe how he speaks. Above all, do not bore your company with an affectation of precision and accuracy. One of the worst nuisances is the talker who is always setting you right. If some one says that 10,000 men were killed in some battle, do not tell him that it was only 9,970. Allow for a little latitude of statement in the freedom of easy talk, and be not shocked with a certain degree of harmless embellishment, when no false impression is given or intended. Talk to please not yourself, but your neighbor; give him the refreshment of sitting by a cheerful, modest, sensible talker; one who is equally ready to give or to take; and who leaves his facts and his opinions on your memory; not the words in which they were uttered. Be a gentleman in openness of demeanor, in simplicity of language, in freedom from singularity, if not by birth. Show your good taste and good breeding in your speech and style, if not in the fashion of your dress or your knowledge of etiquette.

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## *WHAT IT COSTS TO CORNER WALL STREET.*

ABOUT three months ago the leading director of the Erie Railway Company fancied he observed that the stock of that concern had been oversold by the reckless Bears of Wall street, and undertook to "corner the shorts;" that is to say, to buy up the stock, so that the speculators who had sold it for future delivery should not be able to buy when they wanted it. The stock was in the neighborhood of 80. The director bought and bought, and as he bought the stock rose. Pretty soon it was 85, and then 90. Still the director bought on, and by and by it was 95, and presently 97. If he had gone on buying it might have been 100, or 110, or even 120, by this time. There are limits, however to the capacity of even the boldest speculators. By the time the Erie director had bought rather more than all the stock afloat in this country he thought it was time to stop.

He had achieved one half of his enterprise. He had pretty thoroughly cornered the shorts. Foolish operators who had sold Erie short at 80, found themselves compelled to buy it in at 95, and the difference—$1,500 on every hundred shares—went into the pocket of the speculative director. There were many who, having sold short at 80, refused to buy in at 95, and remained "short" borrowing the stock from day to day. These the speculative director punished by refusing to lend the stock except for a bonus—$50 dollars a day for each hundred shares. Day after day passed, and a few resolute, patient "Bears" paid their 1-2 per cent. a day, and refused to cover. All the weak and fainthearted "shorts" had already bought in.

The question now was, what to do with the stock on hand? A few thousand dollars had been taken from "Bear" speculators. But, this apart, the speculating director found himself the owner of all the Erie afloat in this market at an average cost of over 90. There was no demand for the stock. Nobody in Wall street or out of it wanted 100 shares. At 80 there had been a small consumptive demand. At 95 there was none at all.

The speculative director formed many combinations, by some of which he succeeded in interesting others in his operation. In the course of a day or two these combinations led to disputes among the confederates, and some of the parties in interest began to sell. Others followed, and the cry of *sauve qui peut* being raised, such quantities of stock were thrown upon the market that in a few days the price fell from 97 to 75.

The speculative director had not succeeded in selling all his stock. As his account then stood the speculation had cost him something less than half a million. It was a painful reflection for a man who was accustomed to make, not to lose, money in stocks, and especially in Erie.

A week or so elapsed, and the director resolved to look for his money where he had lost it. He began to buy Erie again. Other operators were as quick as he, and Erie began once more to rise rapidly. From 75 it jumped up to 80, from 80 to 85. At 85 to 85 1-4 the speculative director made his grand demonstration. He bought all the stock that could be had at the price—say 30,000 shares in a single day. On the following day all the Erie loaned out was called in. From 1-4 to 1-2 per cent. a day was again demanded for the use of the stock. Once more the Bears were squeezed within an inch of their lives, and none but the resolute held out. On the next day the grand pinch was ordered. The stock opened at 87, and every one said it was going to 90 before noon. To the amazement of every one, at 87 there was an ample supply; fully 10,000 shares were sold in the morning, quite sufficient to supply the pressing wants of the Bears. It subsequently appeared that some weeks previously, when Erie was at 75, the speculating director had sold a call for 10,000 shares at 85, and the holder of this call had defeated the corner by supplying the Bears at the expense of the seller of the call. Thus once more the attempt to corner the shorts had failed.

It took the speculative director but a few days to realize that he had once more missed his mark. Most of the shorts had covered their contracts, and as there was no consumptive demand for the stock at 86, it was clearly futile to put up the price. The director began to sell with vigor and dispatch. How much he sold and at what price is only known to himself and his brokers. Within a fortnight the price fell ten per cent, and real stock was still being delivered from the speculative director's board. It is not unreasonable to suppose that at least a quarter of a million must have been lost by him and his friends in their second attempt to corner Erie.

It is now supposed that they have altered their position, and gone short of the stock. In this new adventure they may or may not retrieve the losses they have met with in their previous attempts to corner the street. But Erie will have to fall very low indeed to yield them the $750,000 thrown away in the two abortive enterprises of January and March, 1866.

The lesson should not be lost upon Wall street speculators. If the leading director of the Erie, with unlimited capital, unrivalled skill, and vast power, could not succeed in making money by cornering that stock, it is safe to conclude that no stock can hereafter be profitably "cornered," unless the party which corners it be content to take the stock and keep it for an indefinite period of time thereafter. Such operations, in a word, inflict severe loss upon the Bears, but yield no profit to the Bulls. The feeling of Wall street is such at the present time that the mere mention of the words "clique" or "corner," in connection with a stock, is sufficient to prevent operators dealing in it. No one will buy or sell a cornered stock. And though people who sell that which they have not got are naturally victimized by such cliques as undertake to buy up stocks reported to be oversold, it does not follow by any means that the cliques themselves will find a market to dispose of the stock they buy. The public argue that a cornered stock must be let alone, and when the Bulls, after running the Bears, try to convert their property into cash, they cannot, as a rule, do it any cheaper than has been done by the Erie director. Prairie du Chien stock, some account of which was recently given in these columns, could not be sold to-day in any quantity at 50, though the last reported sale was 96, and the clique—which owns all the stock in existence—bids 92 as a matter of form at each board.

In an article published early in January we alluded to the probable downward course of prices in Wall street during the present year, and to the prospect of moneyed speculators combining to corner this and that active stock. Both expectations have been realized. Prices have fallen and are falling; and three of the most active stocks—Erie, Michigan Southern, and Rock Island—are or have been cornered. The result is that business is falling off in Wall street, and that the circle of operators is being steadily diminished. The Bears are being cornered and bled profusely; the Bulls are being loaded up with stocks which they cannot sell, and which they will be only able to hold so long as money remains easy. The indications are that business will continue to decline until speculation runs mainly into Governments, which cannot be cornered, and in which no thimblerig can easily be practiced.—*Harper's Weekly.*

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RESIDENCE OF JAY COOKE.—The residence of Jay Cooke, the banker, is situated on Chelton Hills, eight miles from Philadelphia, and is built in the French style, with steep slate roofs and massive plastered chimneys. It is now quite finished, exteriorly, and will contain fifty bed chambers, a chapel, a gymnasium, a library, and all accessories to the palatial home of a Christian banker. Its dimensions probably exceed those of any private residence on the continent. It is pierced with about eighty great windows, and has within it a spacious court yard. There is a porch in front of Pennsylvania granite, capped with a shield and monogram, and the rear, which faces the celebrated rural drive called the "Serpentine," is two-faced, terminating in a grand balcony, and in a bay window, the latter of itself large as a dwelling-house. The grounds, which make the crest and slopes of a tall hill, are already set out with evergreens and silvery foliages, and an elderly and memorial wood stretches to the front, up the sides of a steep precipice, at the front of which runs a pastoral stream, debouching into fish ponds and dropping into waterfalls. The house is a marvel to the Quaker people around it, and as an architectural enterprise, for America, rivals Cologne Cathedral (!) It is said that half a million of dollars will be expended in it. Mr. Cooke, whose origin was quite humble, has always been noted for his humane and republican virtues. He owns a church near his house, on the old York Road, and his present ambition is to have a national day of fasting and gifts-offerings set apart, whereon all the rich people of the country shall subscribe to a tremendous charitable fund. An Episcopal Theological Seminary, it is said, will soon be established on Chelton Hills, and to it he will give twenty acres of ground and $500,000.—*N. Y. Citizen.*

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## *ALPINE COOKERY—A TRAVELLER'S INVENTION*

A PLEASANT paper on "Switzerland in Summer and Autumn," published in the last number of *Blackwood*, gives an account of ascents of high peaks of the Alps, accomplished under great difficulties and accompanied by perils which are vividly described. Once, nearly overcome by fatigue and ready to perish with hunger, the traveller devised a rare soup, which seems to have had a magical effect. We copy his description:

"It was six at night, and dark, when we got back to the Faulberg Cave. Oh, the horror of that last ascent of one hundred and fifty feet from the glacier! I was so knocked up and shivering with weakness that I could not speak, and had to motion the guides to make me some tea. I had eaten nothing all day except a few prunes, and I felt that I must either eat or die; but my stomach revolted at the bare idea of the stringy leg of mutton with which M. Wellig had burdened us, of the tough bread, and of hard eggs, without salt or pepper, these condiments having been left on the Jungfrau. A great effort of gastronomic genius was necessary, and there luckily came to my aid sundry recollections of experience in another hemisphere. It was necessary to make soup, and for that soup I determined to use all the ingredients at my command. I made Marti break the bone of the leg of mutton and produce some marrow; then the misanthropic iron pot was emptied of tea; and here, O weak-minded cooks, were the ingredients I put into it—water, red wine, mutton, marrow, hard eggs, cheese, bread, butter, honey and prunes. A sort of divine *furor*—a gastronomic inspiration—came over me, so that the quantity of each ingredient was most cunningly calculated. Never had I before tasted, never do I again hope to taste such a glorious potage as this 'Salmigondis à la Faulberg.' It was not hunger that supplied the sauce, for I was so sick and weary that nothing but the most exquisite food could have roused my appetite. The red wine had diffused a warm fragrance through the whole mess; the cheese of Gruyères more than supplied the want of condiment, and some of it had been burned at the bottom of the pot so as to give a fine pungent flavor; the marrow served as the very finest stock, the mutton and egg had been cut to tenderness, and the mellowing honey gave unity to the whole. It was not only my eating which was the proof of this potage. Ritz had been looking with ill-disguised contempt at the whole proceeding; and, when I had finished, took up the pot with a skeptical leer, and tasted the remnant by aid of a cup, for we had no spoon. The very first taste, however, wrought an entire change in his opinions. Without saying a single word, he looked at Marti and handed the pot over to him. Marti tasted and looked eloquently at Ritz. Ritz looked at Marti; and straightway, without exchanging a single word, the two worthies fell to work to make a similar concoction. I am happy to say their combined efforts turned out a failure. That soup could no more have been repeated than 'Paradise Lost' could have been re-written. Under its soothing influence I was able to sleep the sleep of innocence and peace in my rocky hollow, and did not wake until morning was far advanced; and Ritz, whose services were no longer required, had departed."

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THE BRITISH POST-OFFICE.—There is no branch of the public service which keeps pace so closely as the post-office with the growing wants of the country. In 1864, 679,084,822 letters passed through the post, being an increase of 37,000,000 over the previous year; and in the same period the number of book-packets and newspapers which were transmitted rose to over 50,000,000, or 7,000,000 more than in 1863. This increase was more than proportionate to the growth of population and multiplication of houses throughout the country. Our correspondence with foreign nations also continues rapidly to expand. The speculative mania of recent years has added to the revenues of the post-office, in consequence of the vast distribution of circulars to which it has given rise. The sentiment of the country also pays a toll to St. Martin's-le-Grand. Nearly thirty-six thousand more Valentines were posted in London in 1864 than in 1863—the total number being 530,300, and nearly one-fourth of these came from the West End. The Post-office Savings Banks continue to flourish. In London there is a depositor to every seven persons; in the rest of England and Wales, one to every fourteen; in Scotland, one to every seventeen; and in Ireland, one to seventy—the average for the whole kingdom being one to fifteen. Experience justifies the expectation that the annual increase in the business of this department will for some time be from 130,000 to 140,000 in the number of depositors, and about a million and a half in the capital invested.—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

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THE SKILL OF CHINESE LABORERS.—The scaffolding for the purpose of covering the court is proceeding rapidly, the chief supports being now completed, and the upper part in process of being covered with light bamboos placed about two feet apart. These act as supports for the matting, which is all double, having lining formen of the millet stalk. Some of these sheets of matting are fitted on bamboo frames, which are not intended to be moved; while others are so arranged that by halliards they can be pulled open or shut like window blinds, thus enabling the court to be covered or uncovered according to temperature, rain, or other circumstances. The skill and ingenuity which the men display is remarkable. They move about on the top of this work, some forty feet from the ground, with the agility of monkeys, and run up and down the straight poles like squirrels, using only their hands and the soles of their feet. A leg of mutton on the top of a greasy pole would stand a poor chance of remaining long an object of competition amongst Pekin scaffold constructors. The framework is secured only by ropes and twine, and great economy is exercised in picking up and removing the portions that are in excess, several little boys going round in the evening before the men leave, and picking up all the scraps that have been cut off and thrown down. The Chinese workmen display great expertness in throwing materials from one to the other to a considerable height. I noticed this to-day amongst the scaffold men, and it recalled to my memory having seen one of the masons' laborers taking a spade full of mortar, and throw it, spade and all, to a man on the roof of a house, who caught it without dislodging a particle of the mortar. The paper-hangers, also, are very expert in throwing up sheets of paper, with one side covered with paste, ready for being put on the wall. Their paper for room purposes is very good, the "satin pattern" being that most commonly used. Paper of this kind is not kept in rolls, as with us, but in squares of about 12 inches by 10 inches. One man stands by the table and applies the paste, and then adroitly throws the sheet up to another one, who fixes it on the wall.—*Pekin and the Pekingese.*

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A LADY SPECULATOR.—This fair "bear"—for she is always on the "bear" side, and never operates but in gold—has all her life had a mania for gorgeous jewelry and diamonds, and the costliest plate of the most precious metals. Her tastes could be gratified to but a very limited extent, until some fifteen months ago, having become familiar with the modus operandi of Wall street, she made a small venture with "ten gold." It was a "hit," and five hundred dollars were to her credit. She was surprised as well as delighted, and was not slow in following the temptation to try again. Gold moved, and fortune smiled once more. She was too shrewd to be rash, and had too much self-possession to become giddy. Again and again, in the course of the week, she sent orders to her broker, and though not always in luck, she netted so well that before the close of the month which opened the year 1865—in which month she first attempted to fathom the secrets of the Great Bear—she had a check drawn to her order for five thousand dollars, which the first days of February saw glittering in a jewel on her bosom. March followed February, and May succeeded April; and through the orders of the months till the middle of June, our fair, steady-eyed, cautious speculator continued to play her part with a success probably unequalled by any one on the street who operated only upon a limited scale; though of course with frequent harrowing reverses. Before midsummer arrived her vanity for diamond jewelry and golden plate was gratified to the extent of one hundred thousand dollars—all the product of her own keen wits. Dull times came, and for a season she rested, but with an ambition unsatisfied as ever. By good fortune she has seized advantage of the recent downward movement in gold—having been seized at the same time with a keen desire for some of the glittering gands that her eye fell upon in one of the imperial jewelry establishments in Broadway. If we knew her well enough to give her advice, we would say: Beware of your next move, and quit the game before you make it.—*The Boudoir.*

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WHO FOUGHT THE BATTLES?—The notion which was industriously spread for political purposes during the war, that foreigners made up the the bulk of recruits for the Union army, is firmly set in many minds, especially in the South and in Europe; Massachusetts in particular is taunted with this alleged substitution of foreign or colored recruits, although Gov. Andrew in his annual address for 1865, gave the figures which showed that out of 153,000 men supplied by this State, only 4,731 were colored and only 907 were foreign recruits. Rev. Dr. Bellows has made from official figures, a statement equally gratifying as to the material of the armies of the whole Union. But the prejudice will nevertheless be long-lived.

A case lately occurred, however, in which it was corrected by a most summary and convincing test. A gentleman from the continent of Europe, visiting his business correspondents in this city, was invited by them to dine, and met at the table five residents of this city. In the course of conversation the European guest chanced to let fall a remark which showed that he entertained the idea which is common in Europe, that our armies were filled with foreigners, while our own men held back. To this replied:

Mr. A. "I don't suppose that when you were in our office to-day it occurred to you that anybody there had been in the war. But of the nine persons whom you saw there, four had been in actual service. And of my own family, two of my brothers served, and one of them fell."

Mr. B. "My only brother fell in the war."

Mr. C. "I lost three nephews in the service."

Mr. D. "I was in the service myself."

It was probably not necessary for Mr. E. to add anything, to show the guest that in an entirely accidental assemblage he had hit upon a most striking illustration of the freedom with which Massachusetts poured out the blood of her own sons for the great cause which she holds dear.—*Boston Advertiser.*

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OLD MARSHAL MUNNICH.—In *Bushcing's Magazine* are some love letters from the old Marshal Münnich to Catharine, which are psychologically curious. Love letters, for they partake of that character; though the man is eighty-two, and has had such breakages and vicissitudes in this earth. Alive yet, it would seem; and full of ambitions. Unspeakably beautiful is this young woman to him; radiant as ox-eyed Juno, as Diana of the silver bow—such a power in her to gratify the avarices, ambitions, cupidities of an insatiable old fellow: oh, divine young Empress, Aurora of bright Summer epochs, rosy-fingered daughter of the Sun—grant me the governing of This, the administering of That; and see what a thing I will make of it (I, an inventive old gentleman) for your Majesty's honor and glory, and my own advantage! Innumerable persons of less note than Münnich have their biographies, and are known to the reading public and all barbers'-shops, if that were an advantage to them. Very considerable, this Münnich, as a soldier, for one thing. And surely had very strange adventures; an original German character withal:—about the stature of Belleisle, for example; and not quite unlike Belleisle in some of his ways? Came originally from the swamps of Oldenburg, or Lower Wester County—son of a *Deichgrafe* (Ditch-Superintendent) there. *Requiescant* in oblivious silence, Belleisle and he; it is better than being lied of, and maundered of, and blotched and blundered of.

Biographies were once rhythmic, earnest as death or as life, earnest as transcendent human insight risen to the singing pitch; some Homer, nay some Psalmist or Evangelist, spokesmen of reverend populations was the biographer. Rhythmic *with* exactitude, investigation to the very marrow; this, or else oblivion, Biography should now, and at all times, be; but is not—by any manner of means. With what result is visible enough, if you will look! Human stupor, fallen into the dishonest, lazy, and unflogged condition, is truly an awful thing.—*Carlyle's Frederick the Great.*

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